FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 094 *15 May 1985*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Reportage on Budapest Meeting of Parliamentarians [MTI] AA 1

ALBANIA

Alia Visits Vlore District, Cooperative B 1
Visit to Vlore District B 1
Visit to Cooperative B 1
Products Displayed at Lisbon Fair Pavilion B 2

BULGARIA

Report of Jurist Commission on Antonov Case C 1
Assembly To Introduce Antiterrorist Legislation [AFP] C 2
Mladenov Addresses Pact Anniversary Meeting C 3
Dzhurov Speaks on World War II Victory C 3
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 9 May]
Tanchev Receives U.S. Farmers Delegation C 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Addresses Visiting Bloc Delegations 8 May D 1
[RUDE PRAVO 9 May]
'Legal' Basis of Soviet Troops in Bloc States D 1
[Kovalenko in Bratislava PRAVDA 10 May]
Foreign Minister Chnoupek Begins Austrian Visit D 3
Received by President D 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker, CPSU's Grishin Hold 'Friendly' Talk E 1
Leaders Greet USSR Counterparts on 1945 Victory E 1
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 May]

POLAND

PZPR Central Committee Plenum Reportage Continues G 1
Politburo, CC Personnel Changes G 1
Czyrek 13 May Speech G 2
14 May Speeches Outlined G 19
More Speeches, Resolution Viewed G 20
Pact Extension Endorsed G 20
Deliberations Conclude G 21

Urban on French, U.S. Ties; Walesa Murder Plot G 21
Reacts to U.S. Tourist Warning G 21
Skeptical on Walesa Plot [AFP] G 23
Walesa Taking Disclosed Murder Plot Seriously [AFP] G 24
Walesa Seeks Return Guarantee Before France Visit [Paris] G 25
OPZZ Sends Letter To Government on Price Rises G 25
Rakowski Addresses 7 May Mlocin Youth Rally G 25
[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 8 May]

ROMANIA

RCP Body Assesses Talks With Canada, Nicaragua H 1
Ceausescu, Dascalescu Message to Soviet Leaders H 2
[SCINTEIA 9 May]
Colombian Foreign Minister Visits Bucharest H 3
Confers With Oprea H 3
Received by Ceausescu H 3
Meets Andrei; Signs Protocol H 4
Coman Receives Jordanian Military Delegation H 5
Dascalescu Continues Southeast Asian Tour H 5
Visits Malaysia [cross-reference] H 5
Visits Indonesia [cross-reference] H 5

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY Presidium Debates 1986 Election Preparations I 1
Government Adopts Limited Price Control Measures I 2
Interior Minister Culafic on Security Issues I 3

REPORTAGE ON BUDAPEST MEETING OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD142004 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 14 May 85

[Excerpt] Budapest, May 14 (MTI) -- The representatives of the parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member states held a meeting in Budapest, on May 14, 1985, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Treaty. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was headed by Lev Tolkunov, president of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet, and Avgust Voss, president of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, both members of the Central Committee. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was headed by Stanko Todorov, president of the National Assembly and member of the BCP CC, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by Alois Indra, member of the CPC CC Presidium and president of the Federal Assembly, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic of Gerald Goetting, vice-chairman of the Council of State, vice-president of the Volkskammer and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, the delegation of the Polish People's Republic by Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm, and the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of Bureau of the Grand National Assembly and alternate member of the RCP Executive Political Committee. The negotiating groups also included the ambassadors of the member states accredited to Hungary. The ceremonial meeting was opened by Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee, speaker of parliament, and head of the negotiating delegation of the parliament of the Hungarian People's Republic. Istvan Sarlos expressed the stance of Hungary, then the heads of the delegations gave speeches. The participants of the meeting then endorsed a joint statement.

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, and Karoly Nemeth, HSWP deputy general secretary, members of the Political Committee, met the heads of the parliamentary delegations at the Munkacsy Hall of the parliament building. The cordial, friendly meeting was also attended by Istvan Sarlos.

Istvan Sarlos gave a gala dinner in honour of the delegations in the parliament building. He stressed in his toast that the present meeting was marked by a full identity of views. The heads of all delegations recalled in their contributions that the Warsaw Treaty was called into being 30 years ago by the compelling force of historic events. This is the first military alliance in the world which is of defensive [word indistinct], and ready for talks and cooperation.

On behalf of the delegations attending the meeting Stanislaw Gucwa held a toast. He emphasized that over the past three decades the Warsaw Treaty had made a good service to the development of the cooperation of the allied countries, and to ensuring the conditions of socialist construction and peaceful life. It always guaranteed the preservation of socialist achievements, and the inviolability of frontiers. In addition to the prevention of war, he stressed, the member states have adopted as their aim the policy of detente, the maintenance of an East-West dialogue, and they are to serve these aims also in the future. The direct, close cooperation of the parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member states considerably contribute to the increasing of the strength of the socialist community. Stanislaw Gucwa raised his glass to the development of the defensive alliance, and fruitful cooperation.

The delegations which had attended the meeting of the representatives of the Parliaments of the Warsaw Treaty member states are to leave Budapest on Wednesday.

ALIA VISITS VLORE DISTRICT, COOPERATIVE

Visit to Vlore District

AU140806 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 14 May 85

[Warm Meeting of Comrade Ramiz Alia With the People in Drashovica and Myzeqe of Vlora - the Strength of the Party Lies in the People in Their Work and Struggle -- ATA headline]

[Excerpts] Tirana, May 14 (ATA) -- On May 13 before noon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania made visits to the District of Vlore. He was accompanied by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Pali Miska, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj as well as by the first secretary of the district party committee Enver Halili and other comrades.

Thousands upon thousands of people from all the villages and the region of Lumi i Vlores, Mesaplik and Kuc as well as from the other villages of Laberia gathered in Drashovica early morning [as received] and extended him a warm and enthusiastic reception.

A group of Young Pioneers present Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades accompanying him with bouquets of flowers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia cordially meets with and embraces the patriots, veterans of war and labour, cooperativists, young boys and girls, oilmen, miners, who wish him welcome and express their great joy to have him amongst them.

Then a cordial conversation begins. After being informed of the political situation in the agricultural cooperatives of the zone and the achievements of the cooperativists, who have turned the grief over the death of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party takes the floor.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia was listened to with great attention and was often punctuated by the ardent applauses and acclamation for the Party of Labour of Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia leaves seen off with love and great enthusiasm by the people of this region.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia who is on a visit to the District of Vlora, went to the monument "Drashovice 1920-1943" and laid a bouquet of flowers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia as well as the comrades accompanying him honour with the first up near this monument which perpetuates two battles waged in different historic periods, the epopee of the years 1920 and the greatest battle against the German occupiers following the capitulation of fascist Italy in September 1943.

Visit to Cooperative

AU140840 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 14 May 85

[Self-Reliance - Our Great Principle -- ATA headline]

[Excerpts] Tirana, 14 May (ATA) -- On May 13 afternoon, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Pali Miska, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj as well as leading cadres of the party and power in the district, went to the higher type agricultural cooperative "Udha e Leninit" of Novosela.

Hundreds of people gathered in the hall of the Palace of Culture and burst out into powerful applauses and acclamations when Comrade Ramiz Alia enters.

A warm and cordial talk is held here on the work, achievements and tasks of this year, the deep going transformations that have taken place just as throughout Albania in the Myzeqe of Vlora too.

Amidst the joy of the cooperativists and their ardent acclamations for our glorious Party of Labour, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz was followed with great attention and was frequently punctuated by stormy applauses and acclamations.

Leaving the hall, Comrade Ramiz Alia is also greeted by thousands of cooperativists and other working people and leaves them seen off with love by all the people.

PRODUCTS DISPLAYED AT LISBON FAIR PAVILION

AU141130 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Tirana, May 14 (ATA) -- The International Fair of Lisbon, in which our country takes part with a general pavilion of goods, opened recently. It has different minerals, copper wires and cables, products of artistic handicraft, carpets and rugs, products made of wood, alabaster, etc.

Our pavilion was visited by the president of the Portuguese Republic Ramalho Eanes, ministers and other personalities of the country, who evaluated our exhibition. Over these days our pavilion has been visited by many inhabitants of Lisbon, local and foreign tradesmen, participants in the fair, etc.

REPORT OF JURIST COMMISSION ON ANTONOV CASE

AU140747 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 13 May 85

["The Acquital of Antonov Is Necessary" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Paris, May 13 (BTA corrs.) -- The arrest of the Bulgarian national Sergey Antonov in November 1982, the investigation which continued for more than two years and the decision of the prosecuting magistracy of Rome to bring the Bulgarian nationals Sergey Antonov, Zhelyu Vasilev and Todor Ayvazov to trial cause the indignation and protest of an ever growing number of representatives of the world democratic and progressive public.

In conformity with the October 18, 1984 resolution of the 12th Congress of the International Association of the Democratic Lawyers (IADL) held in Athens from October 15 through 19 an International Commission for Studies and Information on the Antonov Case was founded. It includes outstanding jurists from several countries among whom are Krishna Ayer, honorary judge of the Supreme Court of India, Peter Billenberg honorary lawyer in Hamburg, Luc Somerosen, judge in Brussels and Mureen O'Brian a lawyer in Dublin and coordinator of the commission. Sean McBride, a world famous peace champion, an outstanding public figure, laureate of the Nobel Prize and the International Lenin Prize for Peace, laureate of the Medal for Justice of the U.S. and chairman of the UNESCO Commission for Communications matters and Claude Lussan, former chairman of the International Union of the Lawyers and chairman of the College of Barristers in Paris were also present at the sessions of the commission held from May 10 through 12 in the capacity of counsellors.

Today the commission published a detailed report with conclusions and assessments on the "case against Antonov and the other accused Bulgarian nationals" and organised a large press conference with representatives of the French and foreign press and of the radio and television.

The report is divided in three parts with conclusions on the "groundlessness of the arrest of Sergey Antonov and on his being brought to trial, on the lack of objectivity and on the obvious partiality of the investigation and on the violations of the basic human rights of the accused". The report also touches on questions such as "the orchestrated campaign of misinformation around the so called 'Bulgarian connection' -- a campaign directed against Bulgaria and her people".

If in the beginning we could allow the possibility of the existence of some grounds for Antonov's arrest, the report of the commission points out, the protracting of the investigation and the prolonged detention of Sergey Antonov was no longer grounded. And in spite of the contentions of the 'conscientiousness' of the work of the investigation authorities, it must be categorically emphasised that Prosecutor Albano's conclusions on the investigation material of March 1984 abound in political bias and that they deprive the accused of the right to enjoy the presumption of innocence. At the same time the indictment of Investigating Magistrate Ilario Martella cannot be regarded as objective for the following reasons: First it is based above all on the evidence of Ali Agca and bears all signs of incongruity between the relation of the accuser to the accused as well as to the witnesses due to their nationality. Secondly many important aspects of the case were deliberately neglected and thirdly some of the material evidence to the advantage of the accused were not considered.

In spite of the detailed documentation on the investigation, the report of the commission continues, it becomes obvious that not a single document or witness is in the state of proving that Ali Agca has ever met the accused Bulgarians.

Meanwhile Agca constantly included the Bulgaria's in his evidence on the so called "Bulgarian connection" for which there are no proofs which contradicts the spirit and the letter of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the European Human Rights Convention and the Italian laws.

It is impossible not to point out, the report continues, that the investigation and the indictment against the Bulgarian nationals bear the mark of an obvious violation of the investigation secret and of an obvious discrimination towards the accused.

These faults and mistakes, all these omissions combined with the campaign around the trial eliminate all possibilities for carrying out a just and normal trial.

This is why, the report of the international commission concludes, we think that the "Antonov case" is not limited in the framework of a usual violation of the presumption of innocence. A whole nation is being accused and the least which can be done is to mend evil which has been to Bulgaria, to the cause of peace in the world and to detente and this will be the acquital of Antonov.

ASSEMBLY TO INTRODUCE ANTITERRORIST LEGISLATION

AU150949 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] Vienna, May 15 (AFP) -- The Bulgarian Government is to introduce tough anti-terrorist legislation after admitting for the first time that extremists have carried out attacks in the country over the past few months.

Last September Sofia described Western reports of bomb incidents in Plovdiv and Varna as "lies and slander." But Attorney-General Kostadin Lutov admitted at a press conference in Sofia on Monday that the authorities had noted "troubles caused by opponents and criminals acting under the influence of the world-wide ideological struggle."

Observers were surprised that Mr. Lutov established a link between "hostile elements" and a series of explosions, fires and other unexplained indictments which have caused several deaths in the past few months. He said that last August a bomb had exploded in Plovdiv railway station, killing a woman, and another at Varna airport. Plovdiv is Bulgaria's second largest town after Sofia, and Varna is a Black Sea holiday resort. He also mentioned an explosion on March 9 in a Sofia-Burgas train which killed seven and injured nine, and an incident on March 2 when a drunken militiaman in Sofia killed four people.

Initially the bombs in Plovdiv and Varna, which exploded on the eve of Bulgaria's 40th anniversary as a people's republic, were reported by the Western press in September, and denied by the government as "lies and slander."

Mr. Lutov said the Bulgarian parliament would later this week debate a bill setting out harsher sentences for terrorists.

The proposed legislation lays down 3 to 15 years of seizing hostages, 15 to 20 years or the death sentence for those found guilty of "fires, explosions or floods" and up to five years for threatening to carry out a terrorist act.

Observers here said that the Bulgarian Government, by publicly announcing these measures, was clearly intent on frightening its opponents, including certain members of the Turkish minority.

Last October the press reported the execution of Lamen Antonov Penchev, a Bulgarian citizen, for killing three people and injuring nine with a bomb in the post office at Gorna Oriachovitsa, in the north.

MLADENOV ADDRESSES PACT ANNIVERSARY MEETING

AU142143 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] A festive meeting was held in the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture in Sofia this afternoon to mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. The meeting was attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and Dmitur Stanishev.

A report entitled "Loyal Guard of Peace and Constructive Labor" was read by Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs. He dwelt on the significance of the alliance's Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and on the strategy of the fraternal socialist countries, relying on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

The case of the Warsaw Pact is unprecedented in history, Comrade Petur Mladenov pointed out. In this alliance the countries base their relations on principles of full equality, and the interests of the individual countries are indissolubly linked to the interests of the whole community. Recalling that the term of the Warsaw Pact was extended through the signing of a protocol at a recent meeting in Warsaw, the speaker stressed that the goals and principles on which the Warsaw Pact was based 30 years ago are still valid under present-day international circumstances.

DZHUROV SPEAKS ON WORLD WAR II VICTORY

AU101957 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 May 85 p 2

[Speech delivered by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, at a festive meeting held at the Sofia Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture, on 8 May to mark the 40th anniversary of VE Day]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: For the past 40 years progressive mankind has been celebrating 9 May as Victory Day, the anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism -- the most reactionary striking force of imperialism, the force chiefly responsible for the conflagration of World War II. For the past 40 years progressive mankind has also marked the victory over Japanese militarism.

The victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism is of worldwide historical importance for the fate of all mankind. For 6 years Hitler's hordes sowed destruction, suffering, and death for millions of people. It is difficult to imagine how long the fascists' "new order" would have lasted and what the fate of mankind would have been if the armed forces of the brown plague had not been destroyed, if its man-hating ideology had not been thrown upon the dungheap of history, if the people's sacred right to freedom, independence, and progress had not been protected.

This victory was a glorious and immortal deed, achieved with the efforts of many peoples, with the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. The worthy USSR Red Army, the USSR, and the Soviet people, however, played the decisive role in achieving victory. The homeland of socialism was the main force that stopped fascism in its progress toward world domination. The fate of all mankind was decided and resolved at the Soviet-German front. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated:

"Without the USSR, without the incredible selfless devotion and working deeds of the Soviet people, without the sacrifices and victories of the heroic Soviet Army 'the new order' in Europe would have existed for a long time. The prisons and concentration camps would have multiplied and grown, the bones of fighters who were shot and of those kiled without trial or sentence would have been spread throughout all fields and meadows, and the skies of our continent would have become black from the smoke of the chimneys and furnaces in which the victims of sinister fascism inevitably disappeared under the merciless and inexorable methods of annihilation." The contribution of the Soviet people to defeating Japanese militarism was also tremendous.

This is a truth no one can deny. This is why today, together with all progressive mankind, we are paying tribute to the great courage of the Soviet people and their glorious soldiers, who in deadly combat with fascism defended not only their own socialist motherland, but rescued civilization and protected progress and democracy and brought freedom to many nations.

An essential contribution to victory in World War II was also made by the peoples and armies of the United States, Great Britain, and France, as well as by other states forming part of the anti-Hitler coalition. This contribution was most considerable, following the opening of a new front in the summer of 1944. The anti-Hitler coalition asserted itself as an active factor in the struggle against the fascist bloc.

The alliance of the Soviet socialist state in a coalition with capitalist countries was determined by the common danger represented by fascist aggresson for all mankind. This instructive experience is of particular importance today, when nuclear danger is threatening life on earth. Today it is again necessary to rally the broad people's masses and all freedom-loving, democratic, and peace-loving forces in the struggle against reaction and war.

The peoples of many countries in which armed struggle developed on a mass scale made an important contribution to the defeat of fascism. The armies of the partisan divisions, the brigades and detachments, as well as the patriots in the SFRY, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, and Hungary fought a selfless struggle against the fascist invaders. In the most difficult years the struggle against the occupiers was waged by patriots in France, Italy, Greece, and other countries.

German antifascists fought against nazism in Germany itself. The soldiers of the Mongolian People's Republic made their contribution to the defeat of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. The peoples of China, Korea, Vietnam, and other countries in Asia waged a persistent struggle against Japanese militarism.

In the front ranks of the liberation struggles everywhere there were the communists and Komsomol members, the loyal sons and daughters of their peoples, ardent internationalists, and consistent fighters for democracy and national independence.

In celebrating victory we are paying tribute to the victims of the peoples in the anti-Hitler coalition, to the peoples who took up arms to liberate their countries from the fascist invaders. We are paying tribute and expressing our reverence for the heroic struggle and selfless sacrifice of the thousands of Bulgarian antifascists and for their contribution to the joint struggle for the defeat of fascism.

On the eve of World War II, pushed by its overt anticommunism and hatred of the USSR, international reaction not only did not impede, but rendered material and moral support to fascist Germany and its allies in their feverish preparations for war.

International reaction had only one goal: to place the USSR in an unfavorable situation and to destroy it with the cruel sword of fascism and militarism. Therefore, it encouraged the aggressor in all its efforts against the USSR, offering him large financial loans and armaments, as well as conspiring with the enemy behind the scenes and handling over entire states to the Hitlerite fascist regime. The Munich Agreement with Hitler's Germany was the climax of these treacherous political actions.

World War II involved 61 states, and 80 percent of the earth's population participated in it. The fire of this war crossed the tremendous territories of Europe, Asia, and Africa; it encompassed the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the icy northern seas, reaching as far as the shores of Australia. The war caused infinite suffering to numerous countries and peoples and it destroyed 50 million people.

The Hitlerite Fascists methodically annihilated the population in the countries they occupied. Approximately 18 million people from 30 countries passed through the "concentration camps of death." More than 11 million people were deliberately destroyed, or perished under inhuman living conditions. Mankind can never forget this unspeakable crime of Hitlerite fascism.

During World War II the Soviet people suffered the greatest and heaviest losses of human life, as well as incomparable destruction in their country. The Soviet people sacrificed the lives of 20 million people for the victory over fascism, and the fascist barbarians destroyed 1710 Soviet towns and burned 70 thousand villages and industrial enterprises. The USSR lost 30 percent of its national wealth.

The fateful life and death struggle between the first socialist state of workers and peasants in history and the most reactionary, imperialist clique began with the treacherous attack of fascist Germany against the USSR.

From 22 June 1941 to 9 May 1945 the Soviet-German front was the decisive front in World War II in terms of the size of the forces involved, and regarding the persistence and degree of strain of the struggle, as well as its territorial extension and its final results. U.S. President Roosevelt himself wrote on 6 May 1942: "From the point of view of the great strategy, it is difficult to disregard the fact that the Russian Army is destroying more enemy soldiers and armament than the remaining 25 member-states of the United Nations together." The overwhelming majority of the Armed Forces of fascist Germany were concentrated on this front throughout the entire duration of the war. In disregarding undeniable and obvious facts, which no honest man could fail to recognize, some people in the West are claiming to be objective and scientifically authoritative in falsifying the truth about World War II, and in denying or denigrating the role of the USSR in the victorious outcome of the war, trying to deceive the younger generation about the historical contribution and the great credit earned by the socialist system in this supreme trial of history.

It is an undeniable fact that the Soviet Armed Forces, throughout the entire duration of the war, destroyed 506 German divisions, and as many as 100 divisions of the German satellites. At the same time the allies in Western Europe, North Africa, and Italy destroyed 176. This happened, moreover, towards the end of the war, when the fate of the Third Reich had already been decided.

The major part of the enemy's armaments and military equipment was destroyed on the Soviet-German front -- namely, 75 percent of the tanks and aircraft, and 67 percent of the artillery.

Germany lost 10 million men on the Eastern front. This represents three-quarters of its total losses during World War II.

In the Moscow battle the myth of the invincibility of the Hitler Wehrmacht was destroyed once and for all. For the first time since the beginning of World War II, Hitler's military machine ran out of breath. It was stopped and suffered its first great defeat. The victories of the Soviet soldiers marked the beginning of the turning point in the war. The victorious battle of Stalingrad deprived Hitler's Germany of the initiative and its elite divisions were annihilated; the spirit of the fascist army was defeated.

The drastic change in the armed struggle was completed and consolidated in the battles of Kursk and Dnepr. The offensive strategy of the fascist bloc suffered total defeat in these battles and the process of its desintegration began. The consecutive, major, offensive operations of the Soviet Army and the glorious Berlin operation crowned the gigantic duel with full victory over fascism and marked the liberation of numerous countries from fascist oppression.

This is the truth and no one can suppress it. Decent people will never forget the great deeds of Soviet man, accomplished for the sake of freedom and progress.

Victory in the Great Patriotic War was a victory of the Soviet people themselves -- as workers and heroes. The source of victory lies in the strength and invincibility of the Soviet social system. Socialism, represented by the multinational Soviet state, stood all trials and proved its advantages over capitalism in the military, political, economic, social, and ideological spheres.

In a merciless battle against fascism the soldiers of the Soviet Army and Navy and the people's insurrection fighters and partisans set examples of unprecedented heroism and self-sacrifice. During the years of the war, the immortal exploit of Aleksandr Matrosov was repeated 300 times and the deed of the pilot Gastelo was repeated over 350 times, while over 11,000 soldiers of the Soviet motherland were awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union."

The Leninist CPSU was the source of inspiration and the organizer of the glorious victory.

It inspired millions of the people's masses to fight in the just fatherland war.

The party rallied all its forces in a powerful, devastating fist.

In the war years, the party's organizational genius was revealed in all its power.

Almost half of the party members in the USSR fought in the ranks of the Army during the war. In the spring of 1945 every fourth soldier was a member or candidate member of the CPSU. Approximately 2 million of them sacrificed their lives for victory over the enemy. The Leninist Komsomol also made a worthy contribution to the war.

Victory in the Great Patriotic War confirmed the powerful, vital strength of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Its deep ideological conviction, its infinite faith in the correctness of the great Leninist cause were an inexhaustible source of the Soviet people's moral strength and of their moral-political unity.

The victory in the Great Patriotic War demonstrated the superiority of Soviet military science and strategic art, the high standard of strategic leadership and the combat skill of the Soviet military cadres, as well as the efficient organization of the armed forces of the Army and the people as a whole. A great role in the invincible unity on the front and in the rear was played by the concentration of political and military leadership within the hands of the State Committee for Defense and of the Supreme Command, headed by Yosif Visaryonovich Stalin.

The CPSU educated an entire group of talented military leaders and commanders, such as Zhukov, Vasilyevskiy, Shaposhnikov, Konev, Rokosovskiy, Malinvoskiy, Vatutin, Tolbukhin, Meretskov, Eremenko, Govorov, Bagramyan, Chuykov, Voronov, Vershinin, Kuznetsov, and numerous others. They worked out and successfully commanded the brilliant victorious operations of the Red Army. Both on the front and in the rear -- which had merged into one -- ideological conviction, patriotism, moral strength, and psychological resistance of Soviet man revealed themselves with amazing intensity.

The Great Patriotic War proved Vladimir Ilich Lenin's prophetic words: "Never will a nation be defeated in which the majority of the workers and peasants have become aware of fact, have felt and seen for themselves, that they are protecting their own Soviet Government -- the government of the working people -- and that they are defending the cause whose victory will guarantee them and their children the opportunity of enjoying all assets of culture and the results of all human achievements."

Comrades, our country played a worthy role in the freedom-loving peoples' heroic struggle against fascism in World War II. The BCP played the role of a universally recognized leader, organization, and source of inspiration in the armed antifascist struggle in our country.

Without any hesitation, and loyal to its international traditions, immediately following Hitler Germany's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, our party determined its stand on this barbaric act and called upon the Bulgarian people to engage in an armed struggle to drive out the Hitlerlite invaders and overthrow the monarch-fascist dictatorship in our country. A hard and merciless struggle began in the homeland of Botev and Levski, of Blagoev, and Dimitrov, a life and death battle for the destruction of the man-hating fascist regime, for the political and social liberation of the Bulgarian people. The people's liberation and insurrection army was established. We cannot fail to stress with pride that armed struggle in our country assumed a pronounced class character. At the same time the thousands of partisans, political prisoners, concentration camp inmates, and those who helped them represented an inseparable part of the common front of freedom-loving mankind in the struggle for the destruction of fascism.

The program and the establishment of the Fatherland Front played a great role in rallying communists, united agrarians, and leaders of other antifascist parties and organizations, as well as all democratic and patriotic forces in our country.

Our people's resolute struggle prevented the fascist government from sending even one Bulgarian soldier to the Eastern front against the Soviet liberator-brothers. In 1944 this struggle was crowned with success through the historical victory of the 9 September socialist revolution, achieved with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army.

Our people welcomed the Soviet Army as a liberator. Not one Soviet soldier perished on Bulgarian territory by a Bulgarian bullet.

The armed struggle logically developed into the Fatherland War of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Fatherland Front against Hitler's fascism -- one of the most just wars our people ever waged in the 13 centuries of their existence.

The war was a natural continuation and conclusion of the armed struggle against fascism in our country, which began on that memorable day of 22 June 1941. This was a logical epilogue to the long struggles waged by our people against fascism, which began with the first antifascist uprising in the world, in 1923.

These struggles passed through the trial of Leipzig in 1933, when Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of Bulgaria, inflicted the first, devastating blow against the moral-political strength of fascism; they were also manifested through the support for the heroic struggle of the Spanish people in defending their revolutionary achievements, and through the participation of Bulgarian patriots in the ranks of the Soviet Army, and in the struggle of the European peoples, enslaved by fascism. These struggles finally culminated in the armed struggle waged against the fascist invaders and their Bulgarian collaborators in the 1941-44 period.

Side by side with the Soviet soldiers and liberators, and side by side with the soliders of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, 450,000 sons and daughters of the Bulgarian people participated in the struggle against the fascist forces in the Balkans, and later in Hungary and Austria. The victories of the Bulgarian Army in Kumanovo, Nis, and Skopje, in Stratsin, Bela Palanka, and in other decisive combat operations will remain memorable. They contributed to the defeat of the Balkan formations of the emeny and to the liberation of Macedonia and part of Serbia. The 1st Bulgarian Army accomplished glorious deeds in its progress from the Balkans to the Alps and, together with the Soviet and Yugoslav soldiers, defeated the Hitler-fascist enemy on the Drava and Muhy rivers, thus contributing to the liberation of southern Hungary and Austria. The fraternal combat friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet Armies was consolidated in the fierce battles during the closing stage of the war. On three occasions the greeting salvos of Moscow announced to the world the successes of Bulgarian soldiers and their contribution to the defeat of Hitler's Army.

At the cost of tens of thousands of precious victims the young People's Army defended the historical achievements of the 9 September socialist revolution and new Bulgaria made its contributionto the final defeat of Hitler fascism and to the rescue of human civilization. The people will never forget the unprecedented deeds of their worthy children who perished in the merciless struggle against fascism in the mountains of Yugoslavia, in the plains of southern Hungary and Austria.

Comrades, after the Great October Socialist October Revolution the victory over Hiterlite fascism and Japanese militarism is the second great event of the 20th century, which produced a drastic change in the balance of class forces throughout the world. The devastating defeat of the most reactionary striking force of imperialism, Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, created conditions for the free and peaceful development of the peoples.

Early in the course of the war the USSR rendered great, fraternal assistance to patriots in the occupied countries. The USSR provided them with weapons, supplies, and foreign-political support for their liberation struggle. Loyal to its international duty, the USSR helped patriots from various countries to establish national armed forces on Soviet territory. The total size of military formations of other countries established in the USSR up to the end of the war amounted to over 550,000 people who received the necessary armaments, military equipment, and ammunition free of charge.

For over a year 8.5 million Soviet soldiers waged fierce battles with the troops of fascist Germany and with the imperialist Japanese Army outside the borders of the USSR, after which they fully or partly liberated 13 countries of Europe and Asia.

World War II, in the course of which internal class contradictions were constantly exacerbated, accelerated stormy revolutionary development in those countries. The liberation movement, headed by communists and workers parties, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, developed into a victorious struggle against capitalism, for people's democracy, and socialism.

Relations of friendship, fraternity, and mutual assistance developed between the USSR and the countries proceeding along the path of socialist construction. These relations were based on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. The USSR rendered invaluable and selfless assistance to the consolidation and comprehensive socioeconomic development of the socialist states.

The worldwide socialist community today has a powerful social, economic, and defense potential. Its prestige and tremendous attraction for millions of working people are steadily growing.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism also undermined the foundations of colonialism and opened the path toward the expansion of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The process of disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism was accelerated: Within a short period the former colonies and semicolonial countries were replaced by over 100 independent states, some of which proceeded along the path of socialist t ansformations.

The wounds of war had hardly healed, the tears of mothers, widows, and orphans had not yet dried, before imperialism began to engage in repeated efforts to restore its lost positions and achieve "historical rehabilitation." Disregarding the lessons of World War II, its most reactionary circles are today increasing international tension and are once more engaging in various efforts to liquidate socialism as a social system. Their plans to achieve military superiority over socialism, to transfer the arms race to outer space, the use of various forms of economic sanctions, the intensification of ideologocal diversion and psychological wars -- these are the dimensions of multifaceted activity that the imperialists are waging against the forces of social progress and against their support: real socialism.

In order to achieve these imaginery goals, imperialists are today integrating all their efforts and coordinating actions against the socialist countries, as well as against other progressive and democratic forces in the world.

In recent years the forces of revanchism have been more and more openly unmasking themselves on the political scene. Today they are once more repeatedly and stubbornly propagating the "incorrectness" and the "temporary character" of the existing borders in Europe.

The socialist community member-countries, as well as the progressive public, are deeply concerned at the revanchists' provocations. The effort to undermine the territorial-political structure of Europe conceals a serious danger of a new military conflagration; it leads to a destabilization of the situation in this ancient continent of the world. All this demands a high state of vigilance, so as to prevent the revival of those forces that caused immeasurable damage to mankind 4 decades ago.

Peace today can be preserved only under conditions of military-strategic balance.

Thanks to parity in the military sector between the Warsaw Pact member-countries and the NATO countries peace has reigned on our continent for the past 4 decades. This is why the fraternal socialist countries will not permit the balance, achieved at the cost of so much effort, to be unilaterally disrupted by the West. As long as the threat of war exists, we will be forced to adopt measures for our security, so that any attempt of a conflagration of war may be prevented.

As Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared at his meeting with high-ranking party and state leaders from Warsaw Pact member-countries, held on 26 April in Warsaw, "The USSR and the Warsaw Pact member-countries are not striving for superiority, neither on earth, nor in space. We do not try to compete in building the highest nuclear barrier. At the same time, we will not tolerate the disruption of military-strategic parity. This is the firm stand of the Warsaw Pact member-countries!"

The Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces are a reliable protective shield against any threat. These forces are headed by the invincible Soviet Army. The Warsaw Pact, whose 30th anniversary we will solemnly celebrate within a few days, is built on the basis of ideological unity, of common goals, and fraternal cooperation of the socialist community member-countries. This organization will continue to represent a reliable guarantee of peace in Europe and the world in the forthcoming decades. The first leaders of our countries agreed on this at their meeting in Warsaw on 26 April 1985.

World War II was the most devastating of all the thousands of wars mankind has had to live through. As many as 40 years separate us from this war. Many things have changed within this period in Europe and in the world. New generations have grown up that know this war only from films and books. This is why its lessons must be remembered and should never be forgotten.

The most important of these lessons, if we can classify them according to degree, is the demand to struggle against war long before guns and bombs have spoken, long before the first missile has been launched. We must struggle for peace in united efforts with all those who cherish the cause of peace and progress. The common danger menacing people today is the nuclear arms threat and it demands constant, active, and coordinated actions from all peace-loving, antiwar forces against the aggressive and adventurous policy of the most reactionary imperialist circles. The experience of World War II demonstrates that in the struggle to prevent new world wars, all states with different social systems are able to cooperate, as long as they are guided by the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism is a serious warning against all who are now making evil plans against real socialism, trying to "liquidate" our social system, and who are threatening mankind with nuclear disaster.

It is necessary to devote unrelenting efforts to consolidating the cohesion and power of the worldwide socialist community. It is necessary to strengthen the influence of the international communist and workers movement -- the nucleus and reliable stronghold of peace, democracy, and socialism.

We must constantly strengthen the unity of all peace-loving people and increase the nations' vigilance against any attempt to disrupt peace and security, we must consolidate and multiply the achievements of socialism, we must increase the cohesion and unity, as well as the defense capacity, of the Warsaw Pact in order to bring the aggressive and warmongering forces back to common sense.

Comrades, our hearts are filled with pride at the thought that throughout the last 4 decades, under the tested leadership of the BCP, this country, Bulgaria -- once a poor and backward bourgeois state -- has now become a prosperous industrial-agrarian socialist state with a dynamic economic development, a country where science and culture are progressing, and where the material and moral well-being of the people is constantly growing.

Our people's creative efforts today are aimed at implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference, by the February and March 1985 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, and at the worthy preparation for the 13th BCP Congress.

United and rallied around the BCP Central Committee, we are engaged in the accomplishment of new, historical tasks; we are mastering the greatest achievements of scientific-technological progress; and we are increasing the power of our state.

Loyal to the slogan of its basic policy, Everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man, the BCP makes constant efforts to preserve universal peace and expresses the readiness to continue to keep up good-neighborly relations with other countries on the basis of equal rights and mutually advantageous cooperation. In implementing our constant line of preserving and strengthening peace, we attach primary importance to the further expansion of friendship and coopertion with the USSR and with the other fraternal, socialist countries. For the sake of these noble goals, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its contribution to the consolidation of the cohesion, unity, and combat strength of the Warsaw Pact, to the intensification of all-round cooperation within the CEMA framework.

Our own historical experience convincingly shows that in consolidating unity and cohesion, as well as the close cooperation and fraternal unity of action among the socialist counties, our opportunities for solving the most complicated questions in the sector of socialist construction are greatly increasing and multiplying.

Our state is working actively and in a purposeful manner for the consolidation of peace in the Balkans, for the transformation of this area into a nuclear-free zone, for the consolidation of the Balkan Peninsula as a region of peace, security, good-neighborly relations, mutual understanding, and fruitful cooperation. This policy fully conforms to the vital interests of the Bulgarian people, to the cause of peace, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world.

Our country renders fraternal assistance to the peoples struggling for national independence and social progress. Bulgaria supports the just cause of the developing countries and the Nonaligned Movement, as well as all antiwar forces and movements.

We wholeheartedly support the new peace initiatives of the USSR. They are new confirmation of its consistency in the struggle for peace and security.

Comrades, on 9 May 1985 people throughout the USSR, as well as in the countries that achieved their national and social liberation with the decisive help of the USSR, and people in many other countries and cities of all continents will express their gratitude and deep reverence regarding the glorious deeds of the Soviet people, as they pay tribute to the numerous monuments that mark the victorious progress of the Soviet Army in World War II.

Eternal glory and eternal gratitude to the soldiers of the invincible Red Army, to the heroes who fell in the glorious battles against the Hilterite invaders, for the freedom of the USSR and for the liberation of mankind from bloodthirsty fascism!

Glory to the Soviet people, the builders of socialism and communism, the hope and stronghold of peoples fighting for freedom and independence, for peace, progress, and socialism!

Let us pay tribute to the bright memory of the glorious sons and daughters of our people who sacrifice their lives in the long decades of struggle against capitalism and fascism, as well as in the Fatherland War, for the victory of socialist revolution in Bulgaria!

Glory to the veterans of the antifascist struggle and to the participants in the Fatherland War of Bulgaria!

Militant and fraternal greetings to all antifascist veterans throughout the world who are still alive, and who are still indefatiguably, persistently, and courageously struggling against fascist dictatorships, against the revival of fascism and neo-fascism, against imperialism and racism, against oppression and war, for social justice and progress, and glory to all those who perished in the struggle!

Long live peace among the peoples! (The speech was hard with great attention and interrupted by prolonged applause, it was followed by enthusiastic chanting.)

TANCHEV RECEIVES U.S. FARMERS DELEGATION

AU140748 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] On 13 May at the Aleksandur Stamboliyski monument-house, Comrade Petur Tanchev received the delegation of the U.S. National Farmers Union led by Cyrus Carpenter, chairman of the union, which is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union.

During the talk satisfaction was expressed with the development on the two organizations relations, something that facilitates the expansion of Bulgarian-U.S. relations in the interest of peace and understanding. Comrade Petur Tanchev dwelled on the Bulgarian consistent peace-loving policy in the Balkans, Europe, and the world, and stressed our country's striving to develop mutually beneficial and fruitful relations with all states.

HUSAK ADDRESSES VISITING BLOC DELEGATIONS 8 MAY

AU101829 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 May 85 p 3

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- On Wednesday morning, 8 May, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, received at Prague Castle members of the party and government delegations taking part in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and of the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army.

In the name of highest Czechoslovak party and state bodies, Comrade Gustav Husak welcomed the rare guests and conveyed thanks to them for their participation in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army. He congratulated the fraternal socialist countries on their successes in building a new, socialist society. He strongly emphasized the share of the USSR in the victory of World War II and drew attention to the fact that today, too, in cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, the USSR is in the front rank of the struggle to avert the threat of war and to maintain peace.

It is with a sense of pride that we draw up the balance sheet of the results achieved. At the same time, we again recall that our work in freedom and peace was paid for dearly, with millions of victims. Their legacy commits us to continue to spare no efforts in jointly ensuring a peaceful, contented life of mankind, Comrade Gustav Husak said.

Speaking on behalf of delegations of the fraternal socialist countries, Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who heads the GDR party and government delegation, conveyed thanks for the reception. He stressed that through their resolute opposition to the fascist occupiers, the Czechoslovak people took a place of honor in the broad front of nations that fought alongside the USSR. He wished the fraternal Czechoslovak people many further successes in implementing the conclusions of the 16th and in preparing the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Comrade Gustav Husak and the other Czechoslovak representatives then remained with the guests in a cordial and friendly discussion.

'LEGAL' BASIS OF SOVIET TROOPS IN BLOC STATES

AU111514 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 May 85 Weekend Supplement p 8

[Vitalij Kovalenko article: "Significance and Orientation of the Warsaw Pact; Defense Community"]

[Excerpts] In Warsaw on 14 May 1955, eight countries signed an Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. This event represented the beginning of a new and higher phase of the socialist states' military-political cooperation.

The establishment of the Warsaw Pact was neither the wish nor the intention of these states. The transition to collective defense was determined by objective causes.

For contemporary man it is not difficult to recognize that claims about aggressive aims allegedly pursued by the founders of the Warsaw Pact are false and distorted (even if for no other reason than that he can compare the policy of war and feverish armament pursued by NATO and that of peace and disarmament followed by the Warsaw Pact states, and determine the differences in their approaches). But certain other aspects of the pseudohistory of the Warsaw Pact are worthy of attention.

Let us look at two of them. Let us call them the "diplomatic" and the "international legal" aspects.

The "diplomatic" aspect contains the claim that the decision to create the Warsaw Pact was a step taken by the Soviet leadership with the aim of "preventing" the reunification of Germany.

Let us compare this claim with historical realities.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) clearly formulated the USSR's stance on the German issue: "In harmony with the Potsdam Agreement, the USSR is unwaveringly following a policy that is aimed at a speedy conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany, at the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany, and at the creation of a united independent, peace-loving, and democratic Germany," PRAVDA wrote on 6 October 1952. Let us also recall that the Western powers had rejected all the proposals submitted by the USSR that were aimed at Germany's unification and that they stubbornly continued the policy of dividing Germany, which logically led to the establishment of the FRG in September 1949. It was precisely the establishment of a separate West German state that meant the end of hopes of creating a united, democratic, and peace-loving Germany.

Under these conditions the democratic forces of East Germany adopted the historic decision of 7 October 1949, when the People's Council proclaimed the GDR.

Both the CPSU and the Soviet Government continued insistently striving to resolve the German issue, in the realization that -- in the complicated international situation and under the conditions of the existence of two sovereign German states and of a special entity, West Berlin, which emerged on German territory -- it would not be easy to resolve this issue.

However, the ruling circles of imperialist states were not interested in resolving the postwar problems. The argument in the FRG, and the linkage of the FRG with the imperialist military-political system have substantially deepened the abyss separating the two German states. As was stressed at the 22d CPSU Congress in 1961, it is exactly this policy of imperialism that has led to the creation of a dangerous situation in the center of Europe.

The "international legal" aspect: The bourgeois historians are constantly claiming that the Soviet leadership needed the Warsaw Pact to legalize the deployment of its troops in the East European countries.

How serious are these claims? Let us start by saying that the legal status of Soviet troops deployed on the territories of European socialist countries was and is determined by bilateral agreements between the Soviet Government and the governments of these countries. No further "legalization" is necessary here.

At the same time it must be stressed that the USSR never strived to keep its troops abroad forever, in the way the United States is striving. This is testified to by the departure of Soviet troops from Korea in 1948, from Austria in 1955, and from Romania in 1958, and also by the dissolution of Soviet military bases in Port Arthur and on the Porkkala-Udd Peninsula (there the lease was to expire in 1997). Together with its allies, the USSR proposed time and again the reduction of troop strengths and their withdrawal from foreign territories, which the NATO member-states stubbornly refused.

The above facts make it possible to draw totally convincing and unambiguous conclusions about the Warsaw Pact's past. The conclusions both about its approach to the present and about its intentions for the future follow from the analysis of the basic political documents of the Warsaw Pact, of its peace initiatives, of its contribution to reopening the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on the most important issues concerning outer space, and of its realistic approach to the current situation in the world. On the basis of all this we can conclude that the defense community of the socialist countries, which is celebrating its 30th anniversary, was and remains an organization that conducts an active struggle for the peaceful future of mankind.

FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK BEGINS AUSTRIAN VISIT

LD141331 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 14 May 85

[Excerpt] Austria -- CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek arrived in Vienna today to attend celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of the State Treaty on the restoration of the independent and democratic Austria. On arrival he praised the Austrian Government's initiative in inviting to these celebrations foreign ministers of the signatory states and neighboring countries.

Received By President

LD142109 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 14 (CTK correspondent) -- Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger received today Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to exchange views on ways to further improve relations between their countries. Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and Bohuslav Chnoupek, who is in Vienna for celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty, appreciated the results of cooperation attained so far to the benefit of the two countries and the policy of detente in Europe. The discussion showed the existence of possibilities for an even more effective dialogue between Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Bohuslav Chnoupek conveyed to the president the desire of the Czechoslovak leadership to develop good neighbourly relations with Austria on the basis of mutual advantageousness.

President Kirchschlaeger voiced his country's interest to develop good relations and seek ways to their improvement in all spheres of economy, culture, science and technology, and environmental protection.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister appreciated the Austrian policy of neutrality as a factor of stability in Europe.

[Prague Television Service on Czech and Slovak at 1730 GMT on 14 May adds: "Besides a commemorative session in Belveder tomorrow, where the Austrian State Treaty was signed 30 years ago, bilateral meetings are expected between Bohuslav Chnoupek and Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinowatz, Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz, and Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria."]

HONECKER, CPSU'S GRISHIN HOLD 'FRIENDLY' TALK

LD141234 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1149 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Berlin, 14 May (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Viktor Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, for a friendly talk. The Soviet guest is in Berlin at the head of a delegation of the CPSU Moscow City Committee.

Viktor Grishin conveyed fraternal greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which Erich Honecker returned equally warmly. During the warm exchange of views Erich Honecker pointed to the complete agreement in views on current issues of world politics, and in the struggle to preserve peace and further strengthen the unity and united nature of the socialist community, which was reiterated during his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. In the future too, the GDR will do justice to its responsibility within the defense alliance of the Warsaw Treaty as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe.

In preparing for the 11th SED Congress, the workers of the GDR, and especially those of their capital of Berlin, have set ambitious goals, Erich Honecker said. The course of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy is thereby continuing to be realized successfully.

Erich Honecker praised the intensive cooperation of the GDR and the USSR in all areas of social life, cooperation which is being expanded and deepened in accordance with the results of his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. He stressed here the varied relations between the Hero City of Moscow and Berlin. Erich Honecker wished the workers of Moscow new successes in the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress.

Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin (Bezirk) Executive Committee, and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, took part in the talk.

LEADERS GREET USSR COUNTERPARTS ON 1945 VICTORY

AU111729 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 85 pp 1-2

[Greetings message from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, to their USSR counterparts on the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov:

Esteemed comrades, on the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War and the liberation of the German people from fascism, we extend to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers and to the entire Soviet people the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings from the SED Central Committee, the State Council, Council of Ministers, and GDR people.

With the victory over Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union and its glorious army, as the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition, accomplished a liberation feat of universal historic significance.

Led by Lenin's party, the Soviet people saved mankind from fascist barbarism. It is in everlasting gratitude that we bow our heads to the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, the daughters and sons of the Soviet country who also gave their lives for the liberation of the German people.

This victory of the socialist society and of its humanistic ideology over the forces of reaction and hatred of peoples led to far-reaching transformations in the world in favor of peace, national liberation, and social progress.

Our people took advantage of the historic opportunity and, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, carried out the antifascist-democratic transformation of society. In implementation of their right to self-determination, they irrevocably declared themselves for socialism. Fraternally linked with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the GDR became a stable, rising socialist state whose working people are preparing the 11th SED Congress with great achievements and thus are making their contribution to the strengthening of socialism and to securing peace.

Dear comrades, we congratulate you from the bottom of our heart on the great achievements at which the Soviet people are able to look back now, 40 years after the victory over fascism. The Communists and all citizens of our country are paying respect to the significant achievements that are being accomplished by the Soviet working people in the spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress to perfect developed socialism and to accelerate socioeconomic progress.

In view of the danger to humanity springing from the policy of the most aggressive quarters of the United States and NATO, the power and constructive peace policy of the Soviet Union and of the socialist states allied with it are proving to be the decisive force for saving the peoples from a nuclear inferno.

Located at the border with the NATO bloc, the GDR attaches great importance to strengthening the brotherhood-in-class and brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Union and with its Armed Forces, to consolidating and perfecting the Warsaw Pact organization. Bearing in mind the lessons of World War II, it tirelessly works to mobilize the forces of peace, reason, and realism for joint action against the danger of a nuclear world conflagration.

The GDR fully and entirely supports the constructive initiatives of the USSR for preventing an arms race in space and for halting it on earth. With its most recent significant proposals, the Soviet Union has once more displayed with its firm determination to arrive at serious results in the talks with the United States. The peoples expect with good reason that this chance for securing peace not be again thrown to the winds.

Esteemed comrades, on this high holiday it fills us with pride and satisfaction that the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union is based on solid and lasting foundations. This was impressively reemphasized during our cordial meeting and the fruitful exchange of views on 5 May in Moscow. We are certain that this meeting, too, will be of the greatest importance for deepening the comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, the Communists and all citizens of the Soviet Union, great new successes in strengthening socialism and securing and consolidating peace.

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman;
Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM REPORTAGE CONTINUES

Politburo, CC Personnel Changes

LD141215 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Today is the second day of the proceedings of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct] The proceedings of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum continue in the hall of the Marceli Nowotko Engineering Works on the subject of the role and tasks of intelligentsia in the socialist development of Poland. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, is chairing the meeting.

In the first, organizational part of the proceedings, the Central Committee accepted the resignation of Miroslaw Milewski as Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and member of the Central Committee of the PZPR.

Next, the Central Committee accepted the decision of the adjudicating team of the party's Central Control Commission on the expulsion from the PZPR of Jozef Zielinski for breach of principles adhered to by the party. At the same time he has ceased to be a Central Committee member. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1500 GMT and 1700 GMT on 14 May renders the name of the expelled PZPR Central Committee member as "Jozef Zimnicki" instead of "Jozef Zielinski."]

On the recommendation of Politburo General of Arms General Broni Jozef Baryla, Tadeusz Bawarski and Zbigniew Kowalski, who had been Central Committee candidate members, were appointed Central Committee members. Kazimierz Cypryniak, head of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee; Bogumil Ferensztajn, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice; and Barbara Witkowska, a weaver in the Polska Welna woolen works in Zielona Gora, were appointed candidate members of the Central Committee.

The plenary discussion started prior to 11:00. So far eight speakers have taken the floor.

Jozef Tyszkiewicz, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the enterprise committee in the mining enterprise in Polkowice in Legnica Voivodship, put forward the following premise." One should fight myths sustained in society which say that low pay justifies poor quality. It is important to educate the younger generation. Everyone must have access to education, be he the son of a worker, steelworks employee, or peasant. Only in this way can we educate our socialist intelligentsia.

Mieczyslaw Wejman, chairman of the main board of the Polish Association of Artists, Painters, and Graphic Artists, talked about the intelligentsia's involvement in artistic milieus. There is not always appropriate cooperation between these milieus and the sponsor -- in other words, the Ministry of Culture. The speaker pointed out the changing realities of the role of the intelligentsia in society.

Zofia Wilczynska [words indistinct] of the Central Committee concentrated in her speech on utilization of technical and economic cadres in our economy. The situation whereby an engineer, instead of being involved in his work, must write reports, is not a rarity. Zofia Wilczynska also emphasized in her speech the negative role of the clergy in the education of children and youth.

Czyrek 13 May Speech

LD131622 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0755 GMT 13 May 85

[Speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, on occasion of the opening of 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, from the Nowotko Works in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Comrades, esteemed guests, today's Central Committeee session concerns the acute challenges and the great tasks which the end of the 20th century pose for Poland and also concerns the need to recoup more quickly the losses sustained in the recent past. There is no sphere of life in which intelligentsia cadres devoted to a socialist Poland do not have a great, responsible, and truly creative role to play. In essence, every one of the tasks of implementing the line of agreement and struggle, of socialist renewal, of rebuilding the country's abilities to develop itself, of its onward march towards modernization, and of strengthening its position and authority apply directly to the Polish intelligentsia and all its generations, milieus, and professional groups.

Thorough and modern general and specialized knowledge, high qualifications culled from the achievements of science and their practical application, talent and abilities, creative energy, and innovating instinct backed up by patriotic involvement are a priceless social capital. How can one increase this and how can one ensure that it is exploited better and in line with present requirements? This is the main question to which we should find a common answer during our deliberations. A number of important matters are linked to this question: What role should all the products of man's creative thought play today in the development of Poland and in the solution of the problems facing us? What should one expect from educated cadres on which there rest, in accordance with the social division of labor, the greatest duties in this sphere? What specific tasks stem from this for the whole intelligentsia and for its individual milieus? What makes their implementation easier and what makes it more difficult? What should be done to improve, in proportion to present possibilities, the conditions of work for the broad category of the intelligentsia? On which problems should we concentrate our resources in order to accelerate progress and more effectively make up for the time we have lost?

The 19th plenum is an important link in the review undertaken by the Central Committee on the whole complex of problems pertaining to the main social forces of our country. The building of socialism -- in which the working class in alliance with the working peasantry plays a leading role -- by its very nature constantly expands the field of the activities, influences, and responsibility of the intelligentsia. Progress in the development of a new society is dependent to a great extent on the quality of its contribution to this cause, which is of historic importance.

The need for creative thought, innovation and incessant renewal stems from the ideological nature of socialism and this is carried out in the process of overcoming contradictions and in the struggle of the new against the old. In other words, the need for creativity and initiative from the intelligentsia is an activity which is professional, political, and social. The process of socialist transformations, as the 13th plenum stressed, requires unity of ideology, policy and economics, changes in civilization and culture, and providing for social needs. The intelligentsia and cadres with a high level of knowledge have a great role to play in each one of these spheres. Notwithstanding specialization, which is inevitable in today's conditions, the intelligentsia as a whole should epitomize and implement the close link between these tasks and help harmonize them. This is why we must reply today to the question of how we can make sure that deeper specialization goes hand-in-hand with a greater scope of social knowledge.

This also how we must reply to the question of how we can, in conditions of broad differentiation between functions and tasks, develop a joint feeling among the intelligentsia concerning their duties.

Step-by-step and with perseverance we are marching along a road of social reforms which are deepening the foundations of the political system. There cannot be, and neither will there be, a return from this process. To take part in designing these reforms, in introducing them into practice, and in improving them; to pave the way for society to become aware of and practice them; to thoroughly check and effectively disseminate good experience; and to overcome both conservative barriers and trends towards the anarchization of life -- this is the task of all those who wish socialist renewal to be successful.

The party steadfastly creates the atmosphere, impulses, and conditions necessary to ensure that allies of and participants in this cause become more numerous in all spheres of the intelligentsia. The slogan of "More struggle and more agreement" formulated 2 years ago at the 12th plenum is something we wish to confirm today with full emphasis.

The past few years have made a deeper recognition of the situation possible and have thrown strong light on reality, showing that in the views and deeds of the intelligentsia there shines through a genuine brilliance. But at the same time, counterrevolutionary concepts and reactionary myth have been revealed and have shown the contrast between antisocialist slogans and all kinds of demagogy on the one hand and the overwhelming need for realistic thinking, honest work, social service, and innovative activity by the intelligentsia on the other hand.

The intelligentsia have also, after all, experienced the bitter lesson of the destructive effects that result from the negation of socialism, that result from destruction and anarchy. They have had a bird's eye view of unprincipledness, shortsightedness, and vacillation, and of opportunistic changes in designations and research.

But another side of this complex experience is of particular and decisive importance for the future; and this is a side which is becoming more and more clearly predominant. This side is being created by all those who passed in the most difficult time -- and who continue to pass today -- the harsh test which extends even to their characters and consciousness. Yet again, as in the first few years of People's Poland, people of the intelligentsia with various genealogies, ideologies, convictions and motivations -- not only members of our party, of the United Peasant Party and of the Democratic Party, but also people not belonging to any party and people with differing world outlooks -- showed themselves to be resilient to difficulties, unreceptive to misleading slogans, and faithful to socialist Poland, to themselves, to their duties, and to their responsibility.

Our party assesses reality in a sober-minded and thorough manner in the whole range [words indistinct]. We are opposed to the simplification of assessments and hasty generalizations. The intelligentsia is differentiated in many respects. It covers an extensive area in characteristics and attitudes. This area contains both thorough knowledge which is being constantly deepened and titles which do not have much substance.

It contains innovation and stagnation; freshness of thought and dull routine; a lofty feeling of responsibility and the disconcerting absence of it; effective work and the shamming of results; wise, decisive management, which at the same time is well-disposed toward people and open to their worries; and bureaucracy. Or, on the other hand, we have the attitude of a kind old uncle who will not, or does not wish to, make demands on people, ensure that discipline is maintained, or ensure the implementation of what has been decided.

We have not been allowed to solve our problems in a peaceful manner. We are being forced to deal with pressure from an opponent who is trying to get through above all to the intelligentsia in order to make it impossible, or at the very least to make it more difficult, to exploit the intellectual potential for the good of People's Poland. The setting in motion of attitudes of passivity, pessimism, and lack of faith in the development possibilities of socialism and in the effectiveness of reforms and socialist renewal furthers this end. In view of this, the only way out is supposed to be opposition activity or, at the very least, internal emigration.

We cannot offer the intelligentsia a particular mission to fulfill or [word indistinct] which goes back to the 19th century and which does not fit in with modern Polish reality. These are concepts inappropriate to an independent Poland, which has been deeply transformed by socialist change and which has been encompassed by development in civilization and culture which is closely linked to this -- in a Poland which is fundamentally different in its social structure and which has a new division of labor.

However, one can and must speak about the great role of the intelligentsia in all areas of life and about the duties connected with progress; with application of the achievements of science, technology, education, and culture; and about effectiveness and efficiency in all sectors, accompanied by addition of the values of socialist humanism to social awareness and relations. Let us recall the words of Lenin, who pointed out that the intelligentsia is called the intelligentsia because it reflects and expresses in the most emphatic and closest manner the development of class interests and political groups within society as a whole.

Our system creates objective conditions to ensure that the intelligentsia has full treatment as a subject in social life. It places the intelligentsia, above all, in the same social position as all working people. It makes the intelligentsia a joint owner of the socialized means of production. The relation of the intelligentsia to the working class thus takes on another dimension and is expressed in partnership and not in subordination as is the case in the capitalist system where the working class is subordinated to the bourgeoisie.

The present plenum will fulfill its task if it determines a program of activities which transforms to an increasingly full extent the objective community of interests of all working people into the reality of a common front of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia -- into an alliance for social, civilizing, and cultural progress.

It is the party's duty to develop this alliance and to combat all attempts to counteract the leading role of the working class and to incite anti-intelligentsia moods. Our party will continue to strengthen consistently the position of the working class in society, to strengthen the role of this class in all spheres of society's life, which constitute the most important precept for strengthening the socialist contents of our society's development. This by no means diminishes the significance of other social groups. Quite the contrary, realization of the historical mission of the working class creates the best conditions for the full release of the nation's entire creative forces. Our party's working-class course is and must be open toward the intelligentsia. Its course is linked with full appreciation of the intelligentsia's role and a broadening of the fruitful actions addressed to it. It is in the greatest interest of the working class for all professional groups of the intelligentsia to resolve in the best possible manner the tasks incumbent upon them -- so that people educated by a considerable outlay of forces and resources have good working conditions and are surrounded by appreciation and respect in proportion to their contribution, so that they take advantage of the right to moral and material satisfaction, which they deserve through their attitude and results achieved, and so that the laws regulating life act justly and effectively in this direction, together with organizational structures and economic mechanisms.

As far as our party is concerned, the intelligentsia can count on objective and just evaluation. There were periods in the past when the intelligentsia was presented with a long list of complaints or was endlessly praised. Both these methods in their own ways caused disturbances and harm. There can be only one method: Whatever is creative, innovative, or simply solid, valuable, useful to various degrees, and capable of serving social needs in various ways and goals of further socialist development, will be protected, supported and valued by the party. What is ugly, harmful or simply useless, will be exposed and combatted.

Comrades, the very extensive debate, which lasted several months, was a rich introduction to the 19th plenum. It was attended by representatives of all circles of the intelligentsia, members of our party and allied parties, and nonparty people. At more than 700 consultative meetings there was a debate, conducted with solicitude and honesty, which is worth stressing, and with responsibility. They also critically discussed various problems requiring a solution in the near and more distant future, about the tasks connected with this, which face various intelligentsia circles, and about its difficulties and worries. [sentence as heard] A significant feature of all statements was a constructive attitude and support for the line of the ninth congress, and an emphasis on one's abilities and reserves. We highly value these opinions and pay great attention to them. Depending on their environment and their direct interests, the participants in the consultation proposed various goals. The reply requiring further substantiation of the proposals concerning particular circles is contained in the Politburo material published before the 19th plenum.

It is understandable that the views were varied, but there were a few subjects that were common to the whole debate. The most typical subject was looking ahead to the end of the 20th century so that we are not left behind in the race toward modernization. There is no more important cause than this today for the nation and the state. In the declaration "What we are fighting for and where we are going" the party has demonstrated the not-so-distant horizons of the beginnings of the 21st century, a picture of dramatic development linked to the technological and scientific revolution. We shall devote to this challenge and to our reply to it a lot of space in the debate on the long-term program, which will be approved by the 10th congress.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the fact that this matter is not reaching to a sufficient extent our knowledge and imagination today. And it is already very late. Soon it may even be too late for Poland to enter the 21st century with the rapidly developing countries by which it is surrounded and to find a place among the most developed countries. Poland, which has been condemned by the complexities of historical fate to make up for a profound backwardness and enormous war losses and damage, is facing the need to recover from the time wasted in the recent years of crisis and to regain its development rhythm. This is our top problem.

In order to resolve this successfully, in conditions of sharp confrontation imposed on socialism, in particular on our country by imperialism, we must also do more than everyone else. This can only be possible if the Polish intelligentsia is involved with all its creative potential. There are still many reserves for better work and better management. Their commissioning depends on an increased use of knowledge, imagination, energy, and will. Poland will not go back and will not stand still. The croakings of the sowers of pessimism, apathy, and passivity will not come true, nor will those of the prophets who lack faith in our strength. We shall not give up the ambition of achieving such a pace, such a level of civilized and cultural development which will ensure greater satisfaction of our society's need.

Although ahead lies a period in which labor resources will comparatively decrease, we still have at our disposal a great mass of people who are well-prepared for action.

We have a greater potential of educated cadres than many other comparable countries have. We have great natural resources. We have constructed a material and technological base which will ensure further development, if it is used to the full. Our basic trump card is the socialist system, which creates a special chance to link social progress with civilized development. Another trump card is our alliances, our membership in the community of fraternal countries with the same political system goals, and with capabilities of improving of various forms of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Active participation in shaping development programs appropriate to modern-day challenge and consistent realization of these programs define the essence of the offer our party makes to the entire Polish intelligentsia. We are banking on creative thought; on the increasingly broad application in practice of innovative solutions ensuring better organization and greater effectiveness in human work; and greater efficiency in the exploitation of forces, resources, and time. What is needed is creative unrest in the intelligentsia circles, a critical attitude toward all instances of substandard work, and opposition to doing things carelessly and to sham activities. Only such an attitude will lead to strengthening the role of the intelligentsia. One cannot decree such a role. A concrete contribution and active participation in the solution of difficult problems pertaining to the development of the country are decisive for this.

We are entering a decisive period of time for defining Poland's development prospects until the end of the 1980's and for the next 10-year period. The provisions of the national socioeconomic plan for 1986-1990 are being subjected to general social discussion. The discussion on the draft of the long-term plan of our party will be an essential part of the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. We are counting on the broadest possible participation of the intelligentsia in developing these programs. It is important that ambitious and realistic choices are made which will make it possible to work out a development strategy to ensure the constant and balanced development of the country based on solid foundations, and which will make it possible to gradually overcome the disproportions that have accumulated over the years.

The working class and its party expect from scientists effective participation in the creation of scientific foundations for the management of processes governing social and economic development. We have, it is true, varying experience connected with science providing expertise and advice. The activities of advisory teams, particularly in the 1970's, were subjected to justified criticism for experts' passivity and docility. They were also subjected to justified criticism for the arrogance of decisionmaking centers, which did not so much seek advice as confirmation of their self-willed assessments and ideas. All this does not undermine, but on the contrary justifies, the necessity of supporting decisionmaking processes on a solid scientific basis.

We give expression to our stance in this matter by inviting scientists of various advisory bodies which enjoy authority -- by their increasing participation in consultations -- to make it easier for opinions to be expressed on matters important to the country at the forum of the Patrotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON], at scientific associations, and at other social bodies.

The party will make even broader use of the assistance of science. We see, for instance, the possibility of appointing advisory scientific teams attached to the PZPR Central Committee and also attached to voivodship party echelons.

In present conditions, in which resources are restricted for the working force, energy, and raw materials, only the intensification of production based on the achievements of science can ensure a better fulfillment of social requirements and quicker implementation of long-term development tasks. This gives pride of place to matters pertaining to scientific-technological and economic-organizational progress.

The previous state of work done on the provisions of the scientific and technological policy for 1986-1990; the course of the discussion preceding the 19th plenum of the Central Committee; and the proposals from the national conference of creative persons from the fields of science and technology and representatives of industry and from the meeting of representatives of the Polish Academy of Sciences point to the need to concentrate research potential and applied science energy on selected problems of particular importance. These problems include: optimal exploitation of the working resources and production capacities of the economy; shortening the investments cycle; increasing the participation in industry, the construction industry, and agriculture of technologies which are low in energy and material consumption; the preparation of cadre, scientific-technological, and production conditions for the mass introduction of data processing, microelectronics, and the complex automation and robotization of production processes; and the development of nuclear physics and biotechnology.

From this point of view it is necessary to analyze the present structure of the scientific-technological base, in order to strengthen the links between science and production and to link more closely its three sections: the Polish Academy of Sciences, higher education establishments, and institutes coming under individual ministries.

Changes are necessary in the system of research-development programs. These changes ought to apply to the planning process; to monitoring the implementation, reception, and financing of individual projects; to restoring the appropriate importance to design and experimental work; and to ensuring that the final results of work carried out are put into practice by introducing appropriate tasks to investment programs. Strengthening existing and creating new proinnovation mechanisms is necessary to increase the rate at which new technical and organizational systems are introduced into practice.

Activities connected with the technical-organizational preparation of production as well as development, design, and experimental work must become fundamental in enterprises' activities. The systematic modernization of products and technologies should be under way. This requires, among other things, the planned creation of interdisciplinary teams which group together able designers, technologists, organizers, and so on. The appropriate conditions and incentives for creative work should be ensured for them.

Creation of economic and legal-organizational foundations for various forms of joint implementation of scientific and production tasks by units of the research-development and design base and by production and trading enterprises is an important matter.

The point is, among other things, to resolve the problem of creating scientific enterprises, scientific and production centers, small production units at higher education establishments, and such. Only the state can ensure a cohesion of development programs.

The increasing role of the state in planning scientific and technological progress is a worldwide trend. We are moving in this direction. We expressed this by forming, by decision of the Sejm, a scientific and technological progress committee and its executive organ, the Office of Scientific and Technological Progress and Application. Last year, perhaps insufficiently, a law on inventions was brought up to date. Realization of a strategic function of scientific and technological progress for the sake of the economy will be supported in the coming 5-year period by the central research fund, the central assistance fund for introduction of inventions, and the relevant central reserves of foreign currency for these goals.

The increased role of the state in programming scientific and technological progress will coincide with encouraging the initiatives of scientific circles. We shall consider their voice with greatest seriousness.

We attach great hopes to the coming third congress of Polish science. We are convinced that it will focus on matters of utmost importance to society, science, and the economy.

Tomorrow's prospects depend not only on maximum scientific and technological progress, but to a great extent on rationalization and improvements at the work enterprises. The scientific-technological and organizational progress on both these levels, with simultaneous attention to the preservation and protection of the natural environment, is an important development in perfecting economic reform. Its economic mechanisms will fulfill their role if they encourage innovation and stimulate or even force scientific, technological, and organizational progress and an increase in product quality and lower production costs.

The reform creates only the framework and mechanisms directing the economy onto the track of intensive development. Such mechanisms direct the economy onto the track of intensive development. Such mechanisms do not work spontaneously. The results depend on people, their attitudes and commitment, the development of inventiveness, expert support for workers' rationalizing activities, creation in the work forces of innovative atmosphere. This is a broad field for the activity of the technical and engineering cadres. Soon, at the national party and economic conference, we shall fully analyze the economic and financial solutions of the reform and discuss suggestions for its imporvement in the coming 5-year period.

Today's international scientific and scientific-technological cooperation offer great possibilities. Polish science is opened to everything which means progress in the world, and which serves modernization and humanistic goals. As a partner, our achievements deserve others' interest.

Cooperation with socialist countries, first of all with the USSR, opens the broadest prospects. Research carried out by the USSR has developed in all directions, in many spheres at the highest world standard. Fraternal relations that link us with the USSR create great possibilities for a mutually beneficial exchange of scientific output. The Long-Term Agreement on Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation With the USSR that was signed at the highest level defines the main direction of our actions.

Simultaneously -- according to our possibilities, the willingness of our partner, and bilateral benefits -- we shall extend economic and scientific and technological cooperation with the highly developed capitalist countries and the developing countries.

After the 19th plenum all the institutions that govern economic and scientific life, and the party organizations working there, will be obliged to make the ways of accelerating scientific and technological development in their field more concrete and to link scientific thought more closely with economic practice. We are encourageing all people connected with science, technology, and their implementation in the intelligentsia milieus to take part in these activities.

Comrades, the other sphere, the other main sphere, aimed at the tasks and expections of the intelligentsia, concerns improving the standard of education and upbringing at all levels of the Polish school system, and adapting the whole system of national education to the demands of the present and the needs of the country's socioeconomic development. It concerns, in particular, the higher education that prepares intelligentsia cadres. Above all, we expect that the standard of didactic and upbringing work will be raised, for it has been lowered in recent years in some of our universities in a way that can be felt.

Society needs cadres equipped with sound, useful, and expert knowledge, and experts who have high ideological and moral standards.

Some higher education establishments do not respond to this need to a sufficient extent. Students are not sufficiently encouraged to acquire knowledge, while lack of ambition, relaxed study discipline, and mediocrity are tolerated. The state will increase its efforts to ensure appropriate conditions for proper functioning of higher education establishments. However, increased efficiency depends first of all on the academic community itself and on the attitude of its members.

Much needs to be done to adopt the higher education structure to the real needs of the national economy. Graduates in some professions are not properly used, while at the same time there is a shortage of new cadres in other important spheres. Resources wasted on overdeveloped educational directions as well as the frustration of graduates who are employed in fields other than those in which they are qualified are connected with this.

We have expressed our concern many times with antisocialist groups in some academic communities which try to use for their purposes the regulations of the law on higher education.

They attempt to draw the attention of academic teachers away from the fundamental matter -- results achieved by higher education establishments. The Polish higher education establishments are state-owned and socialist and that is why in their functioning there should be a strict merger of the wise, free from red tape, but at the same time effective, influence of the state, with authentic and constructive self-management.

Those who are aiming in this direction are best defending the intentions of the existing laws. The development of the situation indicates that in order to make such intentions permanent, it will be necessary to introduce essential changes in the legal regulations on higher education establishments. The intelligentsia has a special role in forming the common system for shaping social consciousness -- the system based on patriotic values and universal assumptions on socialism and the intellectually rich, and based on making possible a universal development of human personality. Responsible tasks have been allocated to the educational cadres. It is on their knowledge and didactic skills and their commitment to socialist educational ideals that the attitudes of the young generation depend, as this is what the young generation brings into their adult lives.

The system of national education should be thoroughly analyzed, and the slogan, Poland the country of those who study, must be renewed and brought up to date. One of the future sessions of the party Central Committee plenums devoted to the problems of national education will deal with this. Today we just want to indicate three key tasks in education and training connected with the issue of technological and scientific progress in a socialist state.

The point is, first, to develop technical training and knowledge, starting with the nurseries and continuing through all levels of education up to popularization of knowledge and technical knowledge in all social milieus; second, to create a system to continuously update technical knowledge and qualifications; third, to give practical expression to the ideal of education through work, shaping professional ambitions, and respect for work.

Esteemed comrades, it is the special duty of the intelligentisia to multiply, protect, and popularize the achievements of culture.

The reconstruction of this culture-creating potential, which diminished in the last few key years, has been served in particular by the law on the cultural development fund and by the National Council of Culture. The consistent implementation of the open socialist policy of culture, whose principles were defined by the ninth party congress, means paying respect to the variety of creative motivations and attitudes.

We recognize and protect such social values as are essential for creativity to develop, such as freedom for scientific and artistic pursuits, the right to innovation and experiment, and tolerance and openness toward the progressive and humanistic aspects of other nations' cultures.

We are in favor of full creative freedom with full observance of the duty to serve socialist society and coresponsibility for the people's state. The intelligentsia values in particular creative freedoms, and the state protectorate acknowledges their essential nature and importance. The creative milieus should appreciate the significance of the state sponsorship and understand its inalienable right to support work that is most valuable socially. We are in favor of a model of partner-like relations based on mutual respect and trust. We count on the objective evaluation of works -- the evaluation of their objective ideological, artistic, social, national, and humanistic value. There is no shortage of proof that it is not from us, but from the embittered spokesmen of political surrealism that flow impulses which are harmful and which make the objective evaluation of work difficult. There has been no mention, no single friendly word from the inhabitants of the antisocialist bunker about the understanding work of the creators who participate in the accord and are on the side of Polish reality. On the other hand there is work, hopelessly bad, implicated in the antisocialist political fever, which is at once announced as outstanding.

Treating creativity in an open manner, we stress that it is socialist culture that most fully meets the broadest social needs and contains within it special humanistic values that fully correspond with the interests of the working class and the working people. While favoring respect for the changes of time and outlook, we support the stream that expresses the profound sense of development and universal emancipation of man, the strength of scientific cognition, and the sharpness of the progressive inheritance of humanity. We strive for all spheres of intellectual activity to be full of the values of socialism and the achievements of Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is the right and duty of our party.

Our offer encompasses an increase in the role and prestige of the creative milieus and the cultural workers in general, and, based on dialogue, sincere cooperation with creative associations and unions; an improvement in material conditions; creative freedom within the limits defined by the Polish raison d'etat, and the criteria of humanism and social progress; and a joint struggle against backwardness, superstitution, and all social evils.

The works of Polish culture can speak in full voice, can enrich the best, 1,000-year-long traditions of the nation, serve the nation, and represent its ideals to the world.

It is an extremely important task to expand the ideological and moral influence of works of art, that is, strongly linking them with the problems and aspirations of the working people and, in particular, the needs of the working class and rural circles. Inspiration in this direction constitutes a duty of the creative associations and party organizations with creators of culture in their ranks.

The party should reach the 10th congress with the proposal for a long-term program for the development of Polish culture. Its significant element is the expansion and modernization of the industry serving the culture: printing and paper production, the record industry, cinematography, audio-visual equipment and so on, to bring it up to the level of the needs of the modern society with universal secondary education.

It will be necessary to modernize and develop the network of institutions and methods of generalizing culture with the aim of ensuring equal and faster access to its benefits throughout the entire country.

Despite the dynamic development of forms of visual media, the book remains the basic course for the circulation of thought. The constant development of book production is indispensable: 8 copies per inhabitant in 1990 and 10 copies in 1995.

Among opinion shaping circles, Polish journalism stands out because of its responsible tasks. Looking for social initiatives, searching for real, often silent and modest heroes of good work, or creators of progress, who think in a disturbing manner but are tenacious in their actions [as heard], taking up criticism that opposes the routine, laggardness, and ostentatiousness and reveals the real face of the opponent -- these are materials for the journalistic profession. Journalistic skills demand many changes for the better: seeking proper objectives, words, and images that move the reader, fighting cliches and banalities, and concern for the beautiful -- but how often neglected -- Polish language in press publications and radio and television programs.

Comrades, duties toward the state define the basic chapter of patriotic obligations of the intelligentsia and one of the principal fields of their thought and work. Ways to consolidate, improve, and direct the development of socialist democracy and extend socialist law and order were discussed at the 17th plenum. The practice has proved consistence in implementing the assumptions adopted.

It is known that some of the intelligentsia voice reservations about the mechanisms and institutions of our political system. If this criticism is well-founded and results from honest intentions, it may play a positive role in doing away with shortcomings and improving the political organization of our society. If, however, it is criticism based on outright opposition, it harms Poland. He who truly seeks the good of the homeland must take a civic attitude toward political institutions and contribute to the development and improvement of these institutions through participation in their operations.

Let us repeat: after the 17th plenum, the development of socialist democracy is a process determined by both the extent and quality of social participation. The intelligentsia fully participate in this process. Representatives of the intelligentsia make up a considerable share of the people's councils, employee and local self-governments, leaderships of social organizations and associations, creative associations, cultural and upbringing institutions. The party seeks to increase the intelligentsia's activity and influence on social life and supports their broader participation in governing and managing and all forms of civic activity.

The dissemination of the truth about the major significance of the socialist state as regards tasks for opinion shaping circles.

A great role is played by lawyers, praxeologists, theoreticians, and people practicing scientific methods in organization and management: in consolidating and developing the tasks of socialist reform, creating socialist relations among people, encouraging social activity, and consolidating discipline.

Esteemed comrades, the preplenum consultations have confirmed that to improve the working conditions and the atmosphere within intelligentsia circles and to mobilize them socially and professionally, it is necessary to overcome a number of barriers. These have been growing for years, and lately, in connection with the difficulties through which our country is passing they have been making themselves particularly strongly felt.

First, there are material barriers.

Growth tendencies are strengthening in the economy, but in the conditions of heavy indebtedness, the severe effects of imperialist restrictions, and the consequences -- which inescapably continue -- of pre-August errors and pre-December destruction, the field for manuevering is limited. These are only some of the unfavorable circumstances that we must confront in order to increase the flow of resources for scientific and technical progress, equip sites for creative work, facilitate access to domestic and world literature, and for other needs of the intelligentsia. Shortages in this area are painfully felt, as was expressed in the course of the latest consultations. At present we cannot afford to change this situation quickly and radically. We are going to have do it in stages.

A realistic concrete program for eliminating the material barriers to intellectual activity is being worked out and will be implemented. Above all, it is necessary to increase expenditures on science and scientific and technical progress to 2 percent of the national income available for distribution in 1986 and to 3 percent in 1990. Besides invigorating the production of domestic scientific research equipment, we deem it necessary to assign resources for imports to enrich the scientists' workplaces. To equip every seat of learning with computers is one of the urgent tasks.

At the same time, we appeal to all interested circles and vocational groups to conserve resources for urgent current requirements. Many material reserves remain in the hands of the intelligentsia itself. It is fully possible to initiate a wave of improvements that would serve to economize, modernize, and improve the quality of products and to intensify the utilization of labor resources, production equipment, materials, components, and power. It is also a question of making full use of the resources currently at our disposal.

Second, there are organizational barriers. During the consultations, critical views were expressed about the disadvantageous placement of highly qualified specialists within divisions and branches of the economy as well as in areas of social life, in local areas, and within enterprises and institutions. There is also the phenomenon of duplicate structures and tasks, the multiplication of management posts, and the unclear definition of tasks and areas of responsibility. Numerous organizational systems still result in people with significant creative potential being overloaded with administrative tasks and, at times, with basic office work. There is also just criticism of those solutions which excessively lengthen the distance between the links in which many good specialists are concentrated and the front line of action: the enterprises' technical base and production itself, the seat of learning and the school, the hospital and the clinic, and culture and art facilities.

In all units of the national economy an analysis of organizational structures should be carried out from the point of view of their adaptation to the tasks and the utilization of qualifications. The deployment of employees with higher education in the national economy, administration, and public services requires a detailed analysis. Essential changes should be introduced after consultations with the groups involved on the basis of objective evaluations. There should be involvement by party organizations and echelons here. We count on the activism of the leaderships of administration, workers' self-management, and trade unions in overcoming the conservatism and comfort-seeking, which have nothing to do with creative aspirations.

A third significant role is played by psychological barriers to motivation. Their removal is largely linked to improving personnel policy. It is essential to consistently implement the main principles of the personnel policy adopted at the 13th plenum in the party's everyday activity and in all links of the state authority. The evaluation has shown that there is a varied degree of implementation and application of these principles. There are cases where they are infringed upon or not observed at all.

During the consultations, it was rightly stressed that casual appointments, or appointments made on the basis of criteria other than qualifications, reflects on the functioning of enterprises and institutions and have a demoralizing influence on employees, particularly young people, undermine the credibility of social renewal, and discourage sound work.

There is no task more important than opening up the possibility for advancement for those who are gifted and active, have a high level of knowledge and a clear patriotic and ideological attitude, and are committed to socialism -- especially young people. Whoever is outstanding in work and intellectual, creative, and organizational activity, regardless of party membership, age, or sex, ought to be given the opportunity to advance. Socialist renewal demands decisive counteraction to the holding back of creative innovative people by the adherants of stupid routine and tranquillity at any price.

Motivational barriers are also linked with the relatively low wages paid to some of the intelligentsia. Against this background, bitterness appears and complaints arise that education and intellectual qualifications are not properly taken into account. The party is treating this with great concern. We shall do everything, as the possibilities arise, to resolve the problems and better reward highly qualified work based on knowledge, experience, and initiative. First of all, this year there are significant changes in the system and amount of wages for scientific employees who have been treated particularly badly as regards salaries. The resolution of pay problems requires a significant increase in the norms governing quality. It is essential to work out proper methods for rewarding highly specialized work, initiative, [word indistinct], and inventiveness. Works of great importance -- important to society -- should bring to their creators, irrespective of the sphere in which they have been created, material benefits in proportion to their value.

It does not diminish the significance of stimulants of moral nature. Creative work should be held in universal respect and rewarded with honorary distinctions. It is a significant condition for breaking barriers connected with convictions which deeply and in many ways undervalue this social stratum.

Words are not enough to counteract these moods. Specific actions are decisive in removing objective barriers, but such action is not possible without the active participation of the intelligentsia itself, without overcoming states of frustration, without discarding what demobilizes: passiveness, discouragement, looking to others, and withdrawing into personal matters.

The necessity of breaking psychological barriers primarily concerns youth. This is where the greatest problems occur, and where, at the same time, the greatest possibilities are concealed. Many young people think that their professional life starts unluckily, that they begin work where they are without an opportunity to utilize their professional qualifications or without a chance for promotion. Complaints are being made that knowledge obtained during studies is not adequately utilized. We listen to these opinions with attention and intensify actions aimed at eliminating their reservations. Appropriate use of the young generation's capabilities demands appropriate economic, organizational, and staffing solutions and greater activity, initiative, and drive from those who are now heirs from one generation of intelligentsia to another in this service to People's Poland.

Esteemed comrades, the Polish intelligentsia has beautiful models and rich traditions, which proves how much energy, the will to overcome difficulties, and creative optimism can do. We had an exceptionally difficult start. Low in population during the period between the wars, the intelligentsia was subjected to bestial extermination by the invader. According to rough estimates, in 1945 there were only 100,000 people in Poland with secondary and higher educations, which was half the prewar level.

Today we have over 1.5 million graduates of higher education establishments. It is socialism that created conditions for such a dynamic development of the intelligentsia, gave it a new position in society and the state, and opened a wide road for youth from working class and peasant milieus to work in intelligentsia professions. Over 55 percent of higher education graduates in People's Poland have such a background.

There has been a rise in the socioeducational standard of women. They now make up a very high ratio of educated people.

The modern intelligentsia was formed, and is being formed, in a new political system under the influence of new values joined with the progressive heritage that finds expression in patriotic, democratic, and revolutionary traditions. The intelligentsia played a great role in shaping national consciousness; was in the forefront in creating national educational and cultural institutions; protected and disseminated Polish thought, the Polish word, and the memory of national history; and took part in all independence-oriented military activity in the struggle for freedom. Its participation in the revolutionary undercurrent of workers' protest against exploitation and oppression was also evident on an increasingly broad scale. The undercurrent of ardent involvement by the intelligentsia in service to the nation and in the struggle for social progress was strengthening.

Not an insignificant part of the prewar intelligentsia in the first few days after liberation was gripped by the momentum of the commitments contained in the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation [which functioned in the latter half of 1944] and by the profoundly patriotic and humanistic meaning linked to these traditions. Joining those who had been involved right from the very start were more and more new graduates of higher education establishments. Thanks to the joint efforts of workers, technical workers, engineers, and scientists, Polish industry was growing, towns were springing up from the rubble, and the splendor of ruined monuments of culture was being restored. Technology and modern agronomy were coming to villages that had been freed from exploitation by the landed gentry, and a cadre of educated people were coming to them in increasing numbers. These people took up in villages and small towns not only their professional duties, but often an educational and cultural mission of reducing the differences between the villages and the towns.

This role of the intelligentsia in these milieus is of great importance right up to the present day.

Polish science has achieved considerable world repute in the sphere of fundamental and applied research. Many new scientific centers have been created, including centers in areas of the country that did not have any before. Outstanding literary, musical, artistic, theatrical, and film works have come into being in this 40-year period and they have become the property of the nation and an important part of what has been achieved in the world as a whole.

The dynamic development of the system of education, despite many problems that have accumulated, has brought about a genuine educational revolution. A social health service has been built. The achievements of the cadre of the Armed Forces -- who not only fulfilled their basic duty of maintaining and perfecting their defense preparedness, but also made a weighty contribution to the development of science, technology, culture, and education and the patriotic and internationalistic upbringing of young people -- are of great value.

The new conditions created by the social revolution have borne fruit in every area. But the achievements would doubtless have been greater were it not for the checks and impediments that appeared in various periods during the 40 years. Some negative phenomena were felt by the intelligentsia especially strongly, for example, bureaucratically perceived centralism, which restrained creative initiative, manifestations of dogmatism and sectarianism, and personal voluntarism.

The lack of concern about importing Western licences and technologies reflected severely on science and technology. Polish technical thought and postlicence developments were not being developed. Let us say openly that this erroneous policy had its supporters in some intelligentsia milieus -- and not only executors, but also initiators. This is not the only example that illustrates that the thinking of "we -- the intelligentsia and you -- the party, and the authorities, is a false division that does not exist in the social reality and has greatly harmful effects. The true dividing line has been and is different -- for or against socialist Poland.

Throughout the entire postwar period there existed a trend that grew from the complicated lot of the Polish intelligentsia and its ties with the propertied classes. It was marked by conservative, and not infrequently reactionary views connected with an obscurantist philosophy of life and nationalism, and concepts severed from reality and based on irrational premises. A significant role was played by noblemen and petite bourgeois models. Misunderstandings regarding the function of the intelligentsia and manifestations of ideological disorientation made themselves felt from time to time: discontent next to megalomania, the weakening of creative passion and activity next to exhuberant expectations, and cosmopolitan gazing to the West next to recurrences of nationalism. It is also impossible to conceal the facts of simulated progress, creation of false authorities, obtrusive self-advertising, and aversion to scientific and artistic criticism.

Negative factors appeared especially emphatically during the latest crisis. In many instances there was a lack of deeper thought, realism, and objectivity in the assessment of phenomena and in distinguishing the real intentions of the forces in operation.

Antisocialist political gamblers striving to set the intelligentsia against its own state and to disorganize scientific and cultural life stimulated reactionary slogans from distant historical periods, created various alternative structures, and, after these plans had failed, urged people to go into internal emigration and to take culture beyond the borders of the country. Wrapping themselves in the togas of the defenders and the gear of the Polish nation, those who in reality carry out foreign plans and interests are still trying to maintain a psychosis of threat and worry about the future and to sow ill will, apathy, and catastrophism -- the sole alternative to this supposedly being opposition activity.

Against this background one must regard with increasing esteem the attitude of those numerous members of the intelligentsia who, during the most difficult period, voiced their support with a bravery worthy of emphasis for the people's state and for Polish raison d'etat. Meriting recognition are also those who experienced various kinds of doubts and resentment, but did not join damaging activities and, above all, tried to fulfill their daily duties well. From this tribune we express recognition and confidence toward them. And to those people who still experience indecision and vacillation and who succumb to the flow of contradictory currents, we say: Join us in order to jointly strive to find the best solutions and implement them jointly. But at the same time we say with total resoluteness to the ringleaders of destruction and anarchy and to counterrevolutionary adventurists, who mask the absence of any kind of positive program with demagogic slogans: There will be no agreement with the enemies of socialism. The struggle will be waged to the end and to the complete defeat of antisocialist forces and slogans.

The policy of the party toward the intelligentsia stems from the strategy of agreement. Conscientious work and acceptance of the constitutional foundations pertaining to our political system define the broadest platform of this agreement. Those who solidly carry out their professional duties and respect the laws of People's Poland, regardless of their views and world outlooks, are with us.

Comrades, the revolutionary workers movement, which is based on the scientific recognition of reality and on the theory of dialectic and historic materialism, has always relied on the active participation of the intelligentsia in the development of Marxist-Leninist thought and social practice. In the history of the Polish workers' movement, which is more than 100 years old, workers who were aware always nurtured respect toward their educated comrades who devoted knowledge, experience, energy, and talent to the cause of the working people. The predecessors of our party, starting with the first generation of Polish Marxists, more than any other social tendency, appreciated the role of the intelligentsia in the joint struggle with the workers for national and social liberation, and for a socialist Poland.

Today about a million representatives of various intelligentsia circles and professional groups belong to the party. Outstanding scientists; creators of technological and economic progress in industry, agriculture, and other fields; organizers of economic and cultural life; leading teachers, doctors, lawyers, writers, artists, and journalists -- from all these circles come PZPR members. The party forces in intelligentsia circles, although unevenly distributed, are significant. Twenty-five percent of researchers, 21 percent of cultural and artistic workers belong to the PZPR.

As follows from its essence and revolutionary spirit, the party represents a force which stimulates and supports boldness in innovative thinking and action, and struggles for their effectiveness. It has room for the most active representatives of intelligentsia circles. Concern for social composition can have nothing in common with blocking their path to the party. But the criteria of party membership have to be especially high in the case of educated people. The principle of political activeness and adherence to principles in presenting and resolutely defending party arguments must apply in full. Initiative, broadmindedness, and deliberation in selecting means and methods of action must be linked with ideological endurance and party discipline. We are recalling this in view of recurring desertion, yielding to outside pressure, and actions contrary to approved resolutions. The party expects intensified participation in ideopropagandist, political, and organizational activity by its intelligentsia cadres.

A special role and responsibility falls to the social sciences and their party cadres. Guided by the theory and research methodology of Marxixm-Leninism, the social science circles should penetratingly analyze the processes of socialist transformations and the struggle which accompanies them, changes in relations of production, the development of social needs and aspirations, and socialist awareness.

The aktiv of the party's ideological front is based on intelligentsia cadres. We assess highly the generous activity of thousands of teachers and lecturers of party training, publicists, and publishers who disseminate to the public the ideology and program of the party, explaining our policy and winning support for the line of agreement, struggle, and socialist reforms.

We attach great importance to the active and ideologically committed activities of comrades working in state institutions, in organizations and associations which deal with the education of the public and the upbringing of young people. The resolutions of the 13th plenum are binding in their entirety.

From members of the party who are active on the ideological and upbringing front, particularly in the social sciences, we expect increased effort in disseminating the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and in strengthening the role and position of Marxist-Leninist theories in Poland's intellectual life, as well as greater participation in the popularization of scientific ideology.

Great responsibility rests on the party leadership cadre. It is necessary that it combine high professional qualifications with a committed stance and with behavior in accordance with the guidelines and requirements of the party. Party leaders at all levels cannot forget, regardless of the situations in their organizations, that they are subject to particularly strict criteria of assessment by their comrades and nonparty colleagues. The confidence expressed in these comrades through the fact that they have been entrusted with leadership functions must be linked to the highest requirements.

It is the duty of the party intelligentsia to act energetically in their professional milieu, to implement in their sphere of work the policy of socialist renewal, to win over nonparty colleagues to the cause of national agreement, and to create through their example and work new examples and values. The task of party organizations in circles of the intelligentsia is to disseminate the program of the party and to extend its influence. They should strive towards this by cooperating with the leader of institutions, with the aktivs of associations and unions of the intelligentsia, and by jointly initiating and organizing activities stemming from the resolutions of the party. Increasing the offensive nature of these organizations, which are still weak sometimes, is vital. Their further consolidation around the fundamental tasks facing the party is necessary.

Extension of the influences of the party in these circles depends on the resolute improvement of our work among the intelligentsia. Often there are occasions when the specific conditions of the intelligentsia of various professions and circles or the characteristics and features of individuals, different kinds of sensitivity, and ways of reacting are not taken into account in these activities. When we speak of those who are still wandering along paths that do not lead anywhere, we cannot fail to think self-critically about why we failed to convince them, and we should not lose sight of our own inconsistencies, faults, and neglect.

In the earnest discussion before the plenum, much time was taken up with critical reminiscences relating to the methods and mechanisms by which the party and state bodies manage important spheres of the life of the intelligentsia. We are aware that many years of neglect, both objective and psychological blunders, treatment in a brusque manner of matters which by their very nature were delicate, and crude words and activities have caused much damage. It would be unfair for us to not mention these factors in assessing the reasons for and cause of the upheaval which circles of the intelligentsia experience.

We assess highly the stance of those who in the cathartic discussion about the origins and causes of the crisis did not stop with pointing at others, but also spoke about themselves and did not avoid their share of responsibility. Today they are playing an active part in the processes of socialist renewal and are in the forefront of the process of agreement and struggle.

Those who hurriedly washed their hands, who as quick as lighting changed their ideological adherence, and who today specialize in negation and demagogy talking about facts of which they were the coauthors and cocreators behaved in a different manner. We do not envy anyone who has such allies, who are prepared, as if they were flags, to change direction with every shift of the wind.

An important proposal stemming from the consultation is aimed at us all, starting with the Central Committee, its members, and also its apparatus. It concerns the significance of an open and honest dialogue; direct ties; the system of daily exchange of assessments, views, and suggestions with various groups of the intelligentsia, and also individual contacts. There are still not enough of them and nothing can replace them.

Many of those taking part in consultative meetings, people who by any reckoning are worthy of trust and respect, received for the first time in their life an invitation from party echelons and crossed the threshold of the committee and could speak from the party tribune. This is a matter of longstanding neglect. It is high time that this be overcome. We must speak more with the intelligentsia, speak with them sincerely. There is no better prescription.

For people of goodwill, the doors of party committees are, must be, and will be open. Thousands of representatives of all milieux of the intelligentsia took part in the consultations. We should embrace many more with various forms of frank conversation about the contents and decisions of the present plenum and the ways of their implementation. The activity of central party teams in various fields of science and culture and of advisory teams -- with the participation of the most distinguished specialists, and also the practice of ideological-theoretical and theoretical-practical conferences -- count as important contributions to work with the intelligentsia. With the increasing complexity of the processes of socialist construction, the strengthening of the role of the party depends to a large extent on the correctness of evaluations, convincing arguments, militant ideological and training work, and competent organizational activity. In the strengthening of the leading role of the party in society and the state, important tasks linked with the working class and with all the working people have been, therefore, allocated to the party intelligentsia.

Comrades, esteemed guests, I shall repeat once again that the tasks connected with the development of our socialist fatherland map out an extremely important role for the intelligentsia. In relation to this, the party will shape the conditions for strengthening the position of the intelligentsia in the alliance of the fundamental social forces. We wish the aspirations of all intelligentsia milieux to play an active role in shaping the fate of Poland to become real in this alliance. We shall resolutely oppose all attempts to decrease the role of the intelligentsia as well as manifestations of a lack of understanding of the historic mission of the working class in the construction of socialism.

The party calls on all the intelligentsia milieux -- scientists, engineers, doctors and lawyers, teachers, creators of culture, organizers of production and social life -- to participate actively in programming and realizing the socialist development of the fatherland. We wish to create ever-expanding possibilities for creative thought in social and political action. We are open to critical opinions and to proposals serving the cause of effectively solving problems within the framework of the existing forces and means. The broadest platform for the joining of forces is created by concrete actions and jointly resolved problems.

Much time and patience is necessary to overcome preconceptions, dispel doubts, and correct erroneous views. But one cannot delay in undertaking tasks which serve all and require joint participation from all.

We expect from the intelligentsia patriotic coresponsibility for establishing a good name for Poland among the states and nations of the world and a prominent position for Polish science, technological thought, and culture in the international community. Education and social standing oblige us to take notice in a divided world of what is in the interests of Poland, its position and security, and what threatens it. We count on the intelligentsia's involvement in recalling the nation's experiences gained from the period of struggle with Nazi fascism and the Berlin victory. It is the intelligentsia's duty to unmask the true objectives of the Reagan administration's anti-Polish policies and the FRG revanchists who are raising their heads higher and higher. The intelligentsia milieux have a particular duty to the nation of warning against the threat of nuclear war carried by the arms race imposed on the socialist countries by imperialism.

Humanitarian values, concern for the future of mankind, and the preservation of cultural heritage, so highly valued by the intelligentsia, demand active opposition to the insane plans for spreading armaments into space. The voice of intellectuals, scientists, and creators of culture should be heard strongly on this matter.

We remember how many Polish intellectuals who survived the ravages of war in the early postwar years differed from the party and the people's power. But as one man they went to work, took difficult tasks upon themselves, and participated in great causes. In effect, many became fervent supporters of changes in the system and conscious builders of socialism. They were with us, with the party in the course of the events of recent years. This experience, one of the most important in the past 40 years, contains a very essential pointer for today: Words wither away, actions remain. Poland needs many actions from the intelligentsia, jointly undertaken, followed through to conclusion, and yielding concrete results. We express the firm belief that the intelligentsia of socialist Poland, strengthening its ties with the working class and the peasantry, will cope with the challenge of the present day in the work of developing and strengthening the homeland.

14 May Speeches Outlined

LD141347 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 14 May 85

[Unidentified correspondent's report on work of 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum at the Nowotko Works in Warsaw]

[Excerpt] Here we are again at the hall where the 19th Central Committee plenum is being held. For a few hours, a plenary discussion has been taking place at the Marceli Nowotko Engineering Works. So far three speakers have taken the floor. Here are further opinions.

Professor Tadeusz Walichnowski, Central Committee member and rector of the Adademy of Internal Affairs, said: The great role of the intelligentsia has been appreciated in People's Poland since the beginning of its existence. The intelligentsia of the forties in their actions and attitudes proved their attitude to the homeland by multiplying our intellectual achievements. However, there were individuals who did not want to identify with changes that occurred in our country. As emigrants they slander the good name of Poland. Historical justice will unequivocally evaluate this behavior.

Next, Tadeusz Walichnowski said the party should impose specific tasks on the intelligentsia, that came into existence in new sociopolitical conditions, in such a manner that the effort put into their creation is not wasted.

Boguslaw Morawski, the editor of Kielce SLOWO LUDU, said: Irrational attitudes and thinking in terms of myths are only some of the problems that the contemporary Polish intelligentsia face. This is a result of the lack of understanding of tasks that the intelligentsia has. These tasks should be defined precisely. The speaker ended his speech with a statement that today's plenum is not only a plenum on intelligentsia but above all a plenum on thinking.

Sedzimir Klimaszewski, rector of the Silesian University in Katowice, pointed to the effectiveness of ideological education in our society. The activity and significance of the fulfillment of tasks given to the Polish intelligentsia depends on the effects of this education. There is a clear disproportion between the needs and possibilities of imparting Marxist-Leninist knowledge. These disproportions should be eliminated.

Zbigniew Hanff, Central Committee member and chairman of the trade union of miners in the Staszic coal mine, spoke about ambitions and aspirations of the young generation, about some of the young people being mesmerized by the Western model and standard of living, about the lack of proper principles in the cadres policy and mechanisms for promotion, and also about layers of knowledge and talent inherent in society but not yet fully utilized. He also apoke about economic problems and the need to build national accord for the future.

More Speeches, Resolution Viewed

LD141521 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 14 May 85

[Unidentified correspondent's report on work of 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum at the Nowotko Works in Warsaw]

[Text] The plenary discussion has now come to an end. Forty-two speakers spoke during the discussion and 28 speeches will be recorded in the minutes of the plenum. These speeches will be published on the same principles as those made during the discussion. And let us make a note of the final speeches made during this discussion.

Zbigniew Kamecki, candidate member of the Central Committee and professor at the Main School of Planning and Statistics, among others, spoke about the need to carry out far-reaching changes in cadre policy. He also spoke about the untapped creative possibilities in intelligentsia milieux who are not party members.

Franciszek Banko, a secretary of the enterprise committee at the Barbara anthracite mine in Chorzow, delivered a reply to that part of this speech referring to the party's cadre policy.

Professor (Brunon Holys), director of the Institute of Criminology, was the next to speak. He said that attention should be paid to political and ideological attitudes [words indistinct] both during and after studies.

Professor (Jerzy Adamski), a guest of the plenum, was the last speaker in the discussion. He stated that the acting community is an exmaple of [word indistinct] of privileges and as a result (?easy) privileges turn into demands and claims. [passage indistinct]

At the moment discussion is in progress in the Resolutions and Motions Committee on a draft resolution. Comrade Jozef Czyrek presented the draft resolution. He proposed that a framework and direction-giving resolution be adopted because it is difficult to encompass in one document all the problems referring to such differing groups as make up the Polish intelligentsia. The resolution is titled "Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee on the Place and Tasks of the Intelligentsia in the Socialist Development of the Country and the Conditions of its Work and Activity." [passage indistinct] report on the deliberations so far. The deliberations continue.

Pact Extension Endorsed

LD141758 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] In addition to the resolution on the intelligentsia, the Central Committee plenum today also adopted a statement in connection with the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw Pact. In it the PZPR Central Committee states that the defensive alliance of the socialist states correctly fulfills its role.

The Warsaw Pact has successfully ensured the security and inviolability of Polish borders and the borders of all the socialist states. Poland's historical experience, we read in the statement, unambiguously indicates that the Warsaw Pact corresponds to the most vital interests of our state. The Central Committee has expressed a profound conviction that extension of the validity of the Warsaw Pact will serve the cause of peace, European security, and the security of our Polish borders.

Deliberations Conclude

LD141701 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 14 May 85

[Unidentified coorespondent's report on work of 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum at the Nowotko Works in Warsaw]

[Text] The deliverations of the plenum ended about a dozen or so minutes ago. Taking part in it, apart from members of the Central Committee, were 300 guests -- some belonging to the party and some not -- representing intelligentsia milieux.

URBAN ON FRENCH, U.S. TIES; WALSEA MURDER PLOT

Reacts to U.S. Tourist Warning

LD141820 Warsaw PAP in English 1714 GMT 14 May 85

[By Bohdan Ambroziewicz and Jaroslaw Sychlinski]

[Text] Warsaw, May 14 -- The Polish Government spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, informed newsmen at a press conference here today, that Polish-French consultations would be held in Paris between May 21-22 at deputy foreign minister's level on the Polish side and at the level of political director in the French Foreign Ministry.

A proposal to hold consultations between foreign ministries of the two states had been made by the French side last year, said Minister Urban. As a result of this initiative the two foreign ministries took decisions through diplomatic channels concerning the level, date and subject of the consultations. It was decided that the meeting would discuss both the current international issues and bilateral relations.

"The Polish side attaches big weight to these consultations. It goes to Paris animated by the will to improve our relations, which for the past three years have been marked by a considerable [words indistinct] not through (?our fault), are lagging behind our relations with other West European [words indistinct] the government spokesman.

Minister Urban pointed to a falling trend in Polish-French trade turnovers, amounting to 505 million dollars in 1984, with France sliding down to the 5th place from the 2nd-3rd place it had traditionally occupied among Poland's Western trading partners.

"We believe that consultations can constitute an essential step in the process of normalization and improvement of the Polish-French relations," said Minister Urban.

Minister Urban denied that Polish mass media were engaged in anti-French propaganda. He added that recently there were numerous publications in Poland to rebuff the mischievous slanders featured in the film series 'Shaoh' which offended the Polish nation.

"One can hardly call it anti-French propaganda, if we express our indignation over the fact that the top French authorities go to the premiere of a film presenting the Polish nation -- which had suffered and sacrificed most in the struggle against Nazism -- as an ideological and practical accomplice of Nazism in the extermination of Jews," said Minister Urban.

Asked about the so-called warning issued by the Department of State for American tourists leaving for Krakow, Minister Urban said: On May 3 four American citizens who took part in illegal demonstrations were detained in Krakow and subsequently asked to leave Poland. I dare say that authorities of any other country would have done the same. Since this was a case of a deliberate and flagrant violation by foreigners of the internal (?law of) the country of their temporary stay.

In (?line) with generally binding principles, every country's regulations should be equally observed by all people staying in its territory, irrespective of thier citizenship. What is more, good manners also require a better behaviour in somebody else's than in one's own house. At least this is so in Poland.

Even so, the Department of State deemed it appropriate in this connection to advise "U.S. citizens visiting Krakow to take extraordinary precautions," as "every person witnessing any demonstration or protest against Poland's Government or against its rulings, laws or regulations, will be regarded as someone actively participating in such a demonstration or protest, and will be liable to arrest."

In response to this consecutive, unfriendly move towards Poland on the part of the U.S. authorities, I wish to state that:

Poland is a safe country, much more safe than the U.S. where for instance delinquency rate is incomparably higher. Guests are welcome here. All Poland's authorities treat them with courtesy. This equally applies to Krakow and to all the other Polish cities and regions.

At the same time, we expect our guests, including our American guests, to observe legal order binding in this country. Hence, in this context, it would be a relevant move on the part of the U.S. authorities to remind American tourists leaving for any country of the world that their first duty is to strictly adhere to that country's regulations.

This step by the Department of State is astonishing. Since the recommendation by the Department of State is most apparently calculated on provoking psychosis among American tourists, I want to stress categorically that it is unfounded and tendentious.

Asked to comment on the recent address to the Sejm by Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, in which he said that certain Western newsmen in Poland took part in subversive activities, Minister Urban confirmed that in the recent period, in activities of newsmen both accredited in Poland and those on a temporary stay reported were certain elements indicating ongoing subversive activity. This is particularly reflected in the military field. What is also sympotomatic is the convergence of newsmen's interests with the interests of military attaches of NATO main countries.

"Apart from that, correspondents and newsmen from those countries continue to participate in inspiring and in supporting opposition acitivites by propaganda means, and they help transfer equipment, financial means and Western-printed literature for illegal structures of the underground." "They also play the function of a transmitter for the West of information and instructions coming in from underground leaders that hostile centres and radio stations capitalize on in terms of propaganda," said the minister quoting examples.

"Parallelly, mendacious are reports on the development of the situation and events in Poland, e.g. through the tendentious exaggeration of the number of people taking part in illegal manifestations and the presentation of alleged brutality of forces of law and order," added the spokesman. "It was mainly such reasons that motivated the explusion from Poland in the 1980s of nearly 70 representatives of Western mass media, the majority of whom had arrived here on tourist visas."

Minister Urban also presented circumstances of detention in Gdansk of Jozef Hieronim Szczepanski, enjoying a break in serving prison terms for murder, who claimed that an unidentified underground organization was getting him to kill Lech Walesa.

The minister disclosed that the trial against underground activists Michnik, Frasyniuk and Lis will start on May 23 in the Voivodship Court in Gdansk.

Skeptical on Walesa Plot

AU141518 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Warsaw, May 14 (AFP) -- A convicted murderer was hired by a "clandestine organisation" to kill Lech Walesa, the Nobel Peace laureate, head of the outlawed free trade union Solidarity, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said today. The name of the organisation and its country of origin were not identified in Mr. Urban's disclosures at his weekly news conference, and he stressed that the account was of questionable veracity.

He said Jozef-Hieronim Szczepanski, 34, was approached in the prison at Rawicz, Northern Poland, while serving an 11-year sentence for murder. In a letter received at the prison on June 28, 1983, Szczepanski was invited to work "for a clandestine organisation," Mr. Urban said. In exchange for killing someone, who at that point was not identified, Szczepanski would be given freedom, money, and a visa for the country of his choice, Mr. Urban added.

Six months later, direct contact was established when Szczepanski was on furlough from the prison. "A man waited for me at Rawicz railway station," Szczepanski reportedly said to the police afterwards. "He told me of the damage caused to Poland by the United States and Lech Walesa."

On three separate occasions while on furlough, he saw the man again, who eventually advised him to apply for a six-month special leave on the grounds that his wife was seriously ill. It was granted in October 1984. Over the next few months, Szczepanski saw his contact on four occasions in the village of Stara-Jania, near Gdansk, and at the end of February was advised to fake a suicide, which gave him a stay in a psychiatric hospital in addition to the furlough.

Finally, on April 26, his contact gave him the details of the operation, saying that a white Fiat car would pick him up at the village on April 30 and take him to kill Mr. Walesa. Szczepanski then said he refused to carry out the killing on hearing who the target was, and twice last week went to Mr. Walesa's home in Gdansk to warn him of the danger, Mr. Urban said. Mr. Walesa alerted the authorities, who then took Szczepanski into preventive custody for questioning, Mr Urban added. An inquiry has been opened by the city's public prosecutors.

Szczepanski had made a full statement, Mr. Urban said, but reporters were urged to exercise the "greatest prudence" as to the validity of the story. Mr. Urban suggested that Szczepanski may have been suffering from mental illness, saying sardonically: "His mother said he was kicked on the head by a horse when he was little."

He also hinted that Szczepanski may have dreamed up the story in order to explain a delay in returning to prison. "Police experience shows that there are times when long-term prisoners try any means to avoid going back to jail, including inventing all kinds of stories," he said.

Mr. Urban did not explain why a convicted murderer had been allowed out of prison so often, nor -- despite Szczepanski's confession -- did he make any fuller reference to the reported "clandestine organisation," whose representative had taken a markedly anti-U.S. stance.

Mr. Walesa refused to comment on the affair.

In 1982, an Italian trade unionist, Luigi Scriciollo, who reportedly acted as a "mole" in the Bulgarian intelligence service on behalf of Italian investigators, said that an attempt had been made to kill Mr. Walesa while he visited Rome with a Solidarity delegation in January 1981. The Italian authorities declined to follow up the announcement.

In other remarks, Mr. Urban said that Stefan Bratkowski, the 51-year-old former chairman of the now-disbanded Association of Journalists, had been indicted for illegal currency deals. A police search of Mr. Bratkowski's home last Friday uncovered Deutsche marks and other currencies, as well as "illegal brochures and articles of antisocialist content," Mr. Urban said. It "confirms the existence of links between Mr. Bratkowski and centres of diversion tied to the West," he added. The Polish Association of Journalists was dissolved after the declaration of martial law in December 1981.

WALESA TAKING DISCLOSED MURDER PLOT SERIOUSLY

AU141853 Paris AFP in English 1834 GMT 14 May 85

[Excerpts] Warsaw, May 14 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, today said that the took seriously a disclosure that a convicted murderer had been hired to kill him.

Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said at his weekly news conference that the murderer had confessed that he had been hired to kill Mr. Walesa by a "clandestine organization." Mr. Urban did not name the organisation or its country of origin, but stressed his view that the account was of questionable veracity and suggested that the hired gun had a history of mental illness.

But Mr. Walesa told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that "nothing this man (the murderer) said appeared unlikely. My experience has enabled me to know people and in my opinion he did not lie."

Mr. Urban said reporters should exercise the "greatest prudence" over the validity of the story, suggesting Szczepanski had a history of mental illness, and hinting that the convict may have concocted the story to explain a possible delayed return to prison.

But Mr. Walesa gave credence to the story, and expressed surprise that the murdered had "so easily and rapidly obtained three passes from the prison only two years after conviction." He said all those who knew Polish justice would realise in normal circumstances this would have been "completely impossible."

In another development, three Solidarity officials -- Bogdan Lis, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Adam Michnik -- who were arrested when police broke up a meeting chaired by Mr. Walesa in a Gdansk apartment in February, will go on trial on May 23, relatives of the men said today. They face five years in jail for belonging to an illegal organization.

WALESA SEEKS RETURN GUARANTEE BEFORE FRANCE VISIT

LD150743 Paris Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] Lech Walesa has been invited by Laurent Fabius to come to Paris to take part in a colloqium on freedoms and human rights on 30 and 31 May. Walesa has agreed but wants to obtain a guarantee from the Polish Government that he will be allowed to return to Poland. He points out that he still has not obtained a definite guarantee.

Ten days before the Nobel Peace Prize winner comes to Paris, a Polish ministerial delegation will pay an official visit to France. This is a sign of a modest resumption of the dialogue between Paris and Warsaw.

OPZZ SENDS LETTER TO GOVERNMENT ON PRICE RISES

LD141917 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] The National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] Executive Committee Presidium, meeting in Wroclaw, adopted the text of a letter addressed to the government concerning price increases for meat, meat products, and fats planned for the next few months. The letter reads, among other things, as follows:

We wish to remind the government that the OPZZ Council does not accept any of the proposed price increases variants. It appeals for an end to the price and wage race, and for a reduction in inflation. Talks with party and government leadership representatives, above all those with Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, have made possible a softening of the most severe burdens resulting from the introduced changes.

Nevertheless, we consider it our duty to re-emphasize that price increases must be appropriately compensated with wage increases for employees who honestly fulfill their duties, and also with increases in old-age and disability pensions.

The OPZZ maintains its position and proposals submitted during the talks. Seasonal prices should apply to milk and milk products, including butter. Summertime prices should be proportionately less, and any conceivable price increases currently in force can only be understood from a social point of view on condition of a simultaneous, permanent abolition of fat rationing. Working people also expect that sufficient concern and consideration will be shown in reaching a decision on increasing prices of meat and meat products, especially those cuts and types purchased by the poorer groups of the public.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES MAY MLOCIN YOUTH RALLY

AU100945 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 May 85 pp 1, 2

[Rafal Makowicz report: "M.F. Rakowski in a Rally Town"]

[Excerpt] In the afternoon, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, accompanied by Leszek Miller, director of the PZPR CC Youth Affairs Team, paid a visit to a group of participants in the Mlocin Victory Day rally held 7 May.

First, he told them that whenever he meets with some social group he always answers numerous questions, but this time he proposed a different method: "Let me ask you something. I have here one of many letters that I have been receiving. It is from a 17-year old student from the college of general education in Chorzow. Listen to what she wrote."

Here, the deputy premier read extracts from the letter, from which it emerges that the author has many doubts as to the "political maturity" of people of her age. She bases this statement on concrete examples of typically negative and ideologically empty attitudes. The author indicates the great shortcomings in correct political orientation, even indifference toward important affairs in sociopolitical life.

Having read the extracts from this letter, M. Rakowski asked the participants: "What do you think? Does this letter fully reflect your own attitudes? What should be done to prevent all of you being dragged under a common denominator, and who should do it?"

Weighty words fell during the discussion. The weakness in youth organization programs was discussed and part of the blame for this was placed on those teachers of citizens education who underestimate political education because of their teaching inability.

Deputy Premier Rakowski, referring to these statements, said: "You are quite right when you say that this letter does not present a fully authentic picture of the young generation. After all, you yourselves know best of all where work 'lies.' No one is able to establish an attractive program of action for youth associations for you. I admit that at the beginning, in other words 3 or 4 years ago, I looked at your work in youth organizations with a certain scepticism. But today I can say that you are a healthy ideological force that can be counted on.

"Please do not treat what I am about to say as moralizing. Observe the following principle: One can never say 'all of us, the whole of society' while using glaring adjectives at the same time. As long as there are two systems opposite to each other, a capitalist one and a socialist one, there will always be ideological disputes. The point is never to accept any truth with blind faith.

You ask how to live. Such a question is no revelation. My generation and the one before it also asked itself such questions. There are no ready replies to them. Look for them yourselves. However, one should take care not to lose one's direction during this search."

RCP BODY ASSESSES TALKS WITH CANADA, NICARAGUA

AU111510 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1354 GMT 11 May 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11/5/1985 -- During its May 11 meeting the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP appreciated highly the results of the official visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to Canada. The visit is appreciated as an outstanding moment in the evolution of the good relations between Romania and Canada, opening the prospects for an even stronger development of the collaboration between two countries both bilaterally and in the international life.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted with satisfaction the fact that during the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu had with Governor General Jeanne Sauve and with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney the sides expressed the joint wish to confer ever wider dimensions on the friendly relations between Romania and Canada, in keeping with the aspirations after peace and progress nurtured by both peoples. Special stress was laid on the importance of the measures established at summit level for an amplification and deepening of the Romanian-Canadian collaboration. In this respect the importance was highlighted of the understandings agreed upon for an expansion of the collaboration in the nuclear power generation and the promotion of new forms of cooperation by signing long-term agreements for the delivery of important amounts of raw materials -- iron ore, coking coal, nonferrous metals, etc, -- in exchange for Romanian products.

Agreements have been reached on the development of the Romanian-Canadian cooperation on third markets.

This sides considered that impressing a more sustained rate on the Romanian-Canadian collaboration in the political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other sectors of activity served the two countries and peoples while also playing a positive part in the establishment of relations of confidence and fruitful cooperation among all the states.

At the same time the Executive Political Committee highlighted that the summit-level exchange of opinions on the current international policies brought to the fore the resolve of Romania and Canada to contribute, by way of an ever tighter collaboration, to solving the complex problems confronting mankind, to settling peacefully, by way of negotiations all the inter-state difference, to building a climate of peace, detente, security, understanding and cooperation in the European Continent and all over the world.

The Executive Political Committee asked the government, the ministries and the other central bodies to take all the measures needed for a proper implementation of the understandings and collaboration targets agreed upon.

During its May 11 meeting the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP approved the results of the summit dialogue between Romania and Nicaragua, occasioned by the working visit paid recently to Romania by President Daniel Ortega Saavedra at head of an official delegation. The president of the Republic of Nicaragua met and talked with President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

The Executive Political Committee pointed out that the Romanian-Nicaraguan top-level dialogue brought to the fore the friendly relations between our countries and peoples, that have been expanded and deepened over the period elapsed since the victory of the popular revolution in Nicaragua.

At the same time the fact was highlighted that the interview between the two state leaders, through its results, marks an important contribution to the further development and strengthening of the collaboration between Romania and Nicaragua in the political and economic planes and to the efforts made on an international plane in view of building a climate of peace, security, collaboration and understanding among nations. During the visit the sides reached a series of understandings regarding the development of collaboration and cooperation particularly in agriculture and in the capitalization of certain deposits and mineral resources.

The Executive Political Committee gave a particular appreciation to the fact that, in the spirit of Romania's foreign policy, President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted, on this occasion, too, his country's solidarily with the Nicaraguan people's fight to safeguard the right to decide by itself the path of economic and social development, free from any foreign interference.

The Executive Political Committee established measures for the further development of the friendly relations between the two countries and peoples, to their benefit and to that of the cause of peace, international understanding and cooperation.

CEAUSESCU, DASCALESCU MESSAGE TO SOVIET LEADERS

AU101409 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 May 85 p 1

[Message sent by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Constantin Dascalescu to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR leading bodies on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers; Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Council of State and the Government of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, we convey cordial greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the historical victory over fascism to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of Ministers, and to all the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

Our entire nation honors and highly appreciates the contribution made by the USSR which, bearing the brunt of the war, made the greatest sacrifices and had a decisive role in crushing the Hilterite war machine and in the struggle of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for defeating fascism, the most reactionary force of imperialism and war.

The Romanian people are celebrating this event with the satisfaction that they actively participated in winning the victory over fascism. After the implementation -- under the RCP leadership -- of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 23, 1944, Romania made use of all its military, material, and human potential in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany. The Romanian soldiers heroically fought alongside the Soviet Armies for the complete liberation of our country and then of Hungary and Czechoslovakia until the final victory over fascism. In the heat of these battles the Romanian-Soviet fraternity-in-arms was strengthened and the foundation for the friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Soviet peoples was laid and continuously developed during the years of socialist construction.

We express our belief that, based on the Romanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance and on the understandings reached during high level meetings, the Romanian-Soviet friendship and militant solidarity and the cooperation betwen our parties and countries will further strengthen and develop in the interest of the people of our countries and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

The lessons of history and the serious international tension require, more than ever, the intensification of the efforts of all countries and peoples, of progressive and peace-loving forces everywhere to halt the dangerous course of events toward confrontation and war, towards a new international conflagration, which inevitably would turn into a nuclear catastrophe and would lead to the destruction of life itself on our planet. Under these circumstances, strengthening cooperation between our parties and countries in the struggle for halting the arms race, for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, for detente, and for international cooperation, has a particular importance.

On this jubilee, we extend to you, the communists and all the Soviet working people, warm wishes for new and ever greater achievements in meeting the 27th CPSU Congress and in building communism, as well as in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and for understanding and cooperation among all nations of the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania

COLOMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS BUCHAREST

Confers With Oprea

AU131859 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1834 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES. 13/5/1985 -- During an interview in Bucharest on Monday between Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorgh Oprea and Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, minister of foreign affairs of Colombia, reference was made to the positive course of ties of collaboration between Romania and Colombia as well as to the possibilities of expanding and diversifying bilateral cooperation in domains of joint interest. Mutual willingness was expressed to further work for the rise of Romanian-Colombian cooperation on to higher stages.

The same day, the Colombian foreign minister had interviews with Alexandrina Gainuse, deputy prime minister, Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Gheorghe Pana, mayor-general of the capital city.

Received by Ceausescu

AU131935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 13/5/1985 -- During the interview which the Romanian head of state, Nicolae Ceausescu, granted on May 13 to the minister of foreign affairs of Colombia, Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, satisfaction was shown at the ascending course of the two countries' friendly and cooperative ties and the joint wish was expressed to expand and boost bilateral economic collaboration, based on mutual interest and advantage, with emphasis laid on the significance of convenanting long-term agreements.

In this spirit, high assessment was given to the results yielded by the session of the Romanian-Colombian Joint Commission on Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation, whose proceedings got under way in Bucharest these days.

With reference to issues of the international life, the need was brought to the fore to work for the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear race first and foremost, the resumption and futherance of the detente, peace and collaboration policy, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all issues.

The Colombian minister pointed out that Romania's foreign policy enjoyed high appreciation and consideration in Colombia.

In connection with the situation in Central America, President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasised that the activity carried out by the Contadora Group, of which Colombia is a member, the member countries' initiatives and actions could contribute to a political settlement of the situation in the area.

During the interview, stress was laid on the significance of observing each people's right to decide its destiny by itself, without outside interference, renouncing and excluding the use and threat of force from interstate relations, eliminating relations based on domination, inequality and inequity, solving all interstate litigious issues by way of negotiations, by taking into consideration each people's right to liberty, national independence and sovereignty, economic and social development, in keeping with its own interests and aspirations.

In this context, the significance was highlighted of increasing the developing countries' unity and solidarity, enhancing the role of the United Nations as the most adequate forum for the resolution, with the participation of both developed and developing states, of the problems related to the setting of international economic relations on new bases, apt to ensure the progress of all countries, primarily that of the economically backward ones.

The interview, the atmosphere of which was cordial, occasioned an exchange of warm salutes between the Romanian president and the president of Colombia. It was attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei.

Meets Andrei; Signs Protocol

AU131900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/5/1985 -- On Monday, May 13, talks were held in Bucharest between the Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and the Colombian Minister of foreign affairs, Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, now on an official visit to Romania.

The two ministers approached aspects of the development of Romanian-Colombian cooperative ties, major international issues, the two countries' international cooperation, in the interest of the policy of peace, collaboration and respect for the peoples' national independence.

The same day, the seventh session of the Romanian-Colombian Joint Commission on Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation got under way, following which the Romanian foreign minister and his Colombian counterpart signed a protocol.

COMAN RECEIVES JORDANIAN MILITARY DELEGATION

AU141729 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1418 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/5/1985 -- Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received on May 14 the Jordanian military delegation headed by General 'Abd al-Majid 'Abdallah al-Khalayilah, commander of the Jordanian People's Army, who paid a visit of friendship and swap of experience to Romania. The members of the delegation were also received by Colonel General Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence.

While in Romania the guests had talks at local party bodies and general staffs of Patriotic Guards in Bucharest and in the Arges and Dimbovita Counties, attended drilling sessions of subunits of Patriotic Guards and detachments of youth's training for the homeland's defence, and toured economic and cultural units.

DASCALESCU CONTINUES SOUTHEAST ASIAN TOUR

Visits Malaysia

For Kuala Lumpur reportage on the visit to Malaysia by Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, including his talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed, see the Malaysia subsection of the Malaysia & Singapore section of the 13 May Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT.

Visits Indonesia

For Jakarta and Bucharest reportage on the visit to Indonesia by Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, including his talks with Indonesian President Suharto, see the Indonesia section of the 14 May Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

LCY PRESIDIUM DEBATES 1986 ELECTION PREPARATIONS

LD142024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG) -- Under the chairmanship of Dimce Belovski, the LCY Central Committee Presidium examined the proposed program of political activity for preparing and holding the elections for delegations and delegates to the assemblies of sociopolitical and self-management interest communities in 1986, which will be adopted by the SAWPY Federal Conference. The opening remarks were made by Milan Uzelac, secretary of the SAWPY Federal Conference.

In its preparation of the standpoints for the LCY Central Committee delegation to the SAWPY Federal Conference, the Presidium examined, according to reports, the basic orientations contained in the proposed program, stressing the importance of the orientation that the forthcoming elections should be an act of the general political mobilization of society in realizing the Constitution, the stabilization program, and key tasks in overcoming the present difficulties in society, and that they should contribute to the further democratization of relations in society. Through all the activities which are already in progress and those which are still to follow, we must affirm and further strengthen and develop delegate relations as the basis of the political system of socialist self-management democracy. This electoral program should be realized through the organized sociopolitical activities of the LCY and other sociopolitical organizations within the framework of the SAWPY

It is particularly important in these activities to critically assess the activity of all the factors of the delegate system in implementing the social orientations set out in the congress decisions, the policy and standpoints of the LCY, the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, and the constitutional concept of the position of the workers and all working people in the decisionmaking process. This must be the basic criterion in the forthcoming elections and the basis for setting the tasks in the coming period.

The Presidium also stressed the importance of thorough and timely political preparations for the elections. This is a precondition for mass participation, a democratic atmosphere, and the full responsibility, freedom and initiative of the working people and citizens in proposing and electing candidates, which is an expression of their orientation toward and support for activity aimed at accomplishing the strategic tasks facing society. At the same time, it is necessary to resolutely thwart attempts at proposing and confirming candidates in narrow circles and informal groups. An integral part of this democratic procedure is also respect for the criteria of cadre policy with regard to social and national structure, the election of young people and women, and the orientation toward putting forward and confirming several candidates.

Capable cadres must be put forward and elected; they would be willing to successfully carry out the social tasks entrusted to them and contribute toward ensuring the revolution's continuity through their knowledge, consistency, and responsibility, and on clear ideopolitical orientations toward further development of socialist self-management. For successful electoral activity it is necessary to make sure that the organizations and organs of the SAWPY are the coordinators of the activity of the sociopolitical organizations and other subjective forces. It is the commitment and responsibility of the LC to achieve, together with other subjective forces, the consistent realization of these orientations.

It is the duty and responsibility of the members, organizations, and organs of the LC, as was particularly emphasized in the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session, to contribute within the framework of preparations for the 13th LCY Congress in an active and direct manner to the broadest political activities in the forthcoming elections of delegates and delegations, and to help create a democratic climate and the social conditions for full ideological and practical mobilization of the working people and citizens in solving topical social tasks and ensure their direct role in the decisionmaking process regarding the realization of cadre policy, the election and

delegation of the most capable cadres to all responsible, self-management, political, and other social functions.

In this context, the forthcoming elections and selection of delegations must be an act of real confirmation for the role of the subjective socialist self-management forces in the delegate system, particularly at a time when in complex economic and political conditions we are waging a decisive battle for further development of socialist self-management.

The Presidium expressed the view that the festivities in connection with the 40th anniversary of the liberation and the victory over fascism were given a very favorable reception among the public. These joint events by the Yugoslav People's Army, the working people, citizens, and young people were organized in a comprehensive and dignified manner and had done credit to the historic contribution made by the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY with Tito at their head, to the freedom, independence, and development of our society. They expressed our social community's freedom-loving spirit, dignity, fraternity and unity, strength and defense readiness, and the resolve of all working people and citizens to consistently realize the tasks of the present stage of social development and strengthen our socialist self-management federal community. The Presidium paid tribute to all the participants and organizers of the festive meeting, the military parade, the technical exhibition and air show, and all the other festivities and events that took place throughout the country, and very positively assessed their activities, involvement, and contribution to this great jubilee of our nations and nationalities.

GOVERNMENT ADOPTS LIMITED PRICE CONTROL MEASURES

LD141736 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1557 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] Belgrade, May 14 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government has decided to apply measures of direct social price control against enterprises which have unjustifably raised prices on account of their monopolistic position on the market. The government made the decision at a session ysterday, when it also adopted other measures designed to reduce inflation.

The government assessed that a major disruption in price trends on the domestic market had taken place. The culprits were primarily those enterprises which had raised their prices by more than 20 per cent in spite of registering above-average financial results last year.

The government considers that the measures will help the implementation of tasks laid down in the resolution on the policy of the country's socio-economic development and were by no means designed as a price freeze.

The government has directed inspection services to find out exactly which enterprises are using their monopolistic positions for unjustifiable price increases. These services are to send their reports to the Association of Yugoslav Banks and the National Bank of Yugoslavia in order that measures could be taken to deprive these enterprises of credits until their prices have been reduced.

The government yesterday also determined proposals for reducing rates of turnover tax on certain commodities important for living standards. It also adopted a decision providing for contingency imports of commodities whose prices deviate from agreed price policy.

INTERIOR MINISTER CULAFIC ON SECURITY ISSUES

LD121738 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0512 GMT 12 May 85

["We Can Prevent Enemy Attacks by an Offensive Involving All Our Social Forces" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 May (TANJUG) -- Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, has given an interview to POLITIKA and TANJUG on the occasion of Security Day on 13 May:

"Enemies of different hues in the country and abroad estimate that our present economic and other kinds of difficulties are favorable for achieving some of their aims directed at undermining the constitutional system... We are relying on Tito's strategy according to which the successful struggle against all kinds of enemies, Culafic stressed, can be waged only by people organized within various forms of social self-protection. We must and can prevent the intentions of the opponents of our socioeconomic and political system."

On the War and the Postwar Period

In his interview by Momcilo Stefanovic and Rosa Grce, editors of POLITIKA and TANJUG respectively, Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, answered a number of questions on the present political and security situation in Yugoslavia and the training of the organs of internal affairs. The interview, for obvious reasons, started with a question that deals with past events.

Question: We have been celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. The members of our country's security service also contributed to this victory, particularly in clashes with various hostile forces and traitors before and after the end of the war. Could you tell us something about this?

Answer: We can indeed talk about a war after the war, about a "specific" war waged by members of the security service against various enemies of the new SFRY in the period before and after 9 May 1945, during 4 decades of life in freedom. With enormous support from the people during the national liberation war, our security service successfully opposed the occupying forces and the quisling intelligence and police services, and the counterrevolutionary forces, and in the early postwar years bandits and terrorists, Cominformists, attacks by foreign intelligence services, fascist emigration, individuals, and groups from the ranks of the internal enemy and so forth. As an example let us mention that in the postwar years we captured and put out of action over 40,000 armed bandits and members of quisling military formations, who continued their criminal activities. In this period over 10,000 spies and saboteurs were unmasked and foiled, a large number of whom were infiltrated from abroad. Our service also prevented hundreds of saboteur-terrorist actions being carried out by hostile emigration, as well as the illegal organizing of the internal enemy and so forth.

Over 2,000 members of the security service and 1,100 members of the National Defense Corps of Yugoslavia died while carrying out security tasks. In the year in which the Department for the Protection of the People was formed, over 750 members of this service died. Their courage and devotion in carrying out difficult tasks represents a lasting moral value and a shining model on which the new generations of members of this service have been and are educated.

Important Task -- To Raise Security Awareness

The interview with Dobroslav Culafic continued with a question on a recent event that stirred up a great deal of interest in the public, that is the participation of the federal secretary for internal affairs in the work of the session of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia's Council Presidium.

Question: As far as we know members of the organs of internal affairs very rarely speak at this forum. Could you explain this?

Answer: The Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia's Council Presidium primarily discussed the political and security situation, the theme that has the closest connection with our tasks and duties. On the other hand, it is the policy of the organs of internal affairs to send their most responsible members to participate in the sessions of sociopolitical organizations' leaderships and bodies, work collectives, to appear before the people in local communities and the organizations of associated labor and so forth. As a qualified professional part of social self-protection, the organs of internal affairs have a duty to make people aware of the forms of activities of all hostile forces, to tell them about individuals and groups whose activities are aimed at undermining the constitutional system, jeopardizing social ownership, social interests, peace, and order, and violating our laws in any other way. In this way we carry out a part of our duties within the system of social self-protection, as an inherent part of socialist self-management.

Bearing in mind this practice of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia's Presidium, I consider it very important to regularly examine the political and security situation in all our working and living environments, to analyze the situation, monitor all the initiatives, suggestions, and criticisms of working people, to offer them answers to their questions and to make them aware of the phenomena and forms of possible hostile activities and so forth.

Without a Realistic Assessment of the Situation There Is No Efficient Action

Question: Do you think that one can make completely realistic assessments from these analyses?

Answer: It is true that some of our assessments do not show the difficulty, complexity, and character, particularly, of the socioeconomic situation in our country. However, equally harmful is dramatizing the situation and encouraging distrust and defeatism but that does not offer the way out or that blurs the prospects for overcoming the difficulties. Both extremes exist in this political moment.

While assessing the situation we must rid ourselves of stereotype phrases; we must be realistic, clear, and possess a sense of topicality. Without such an assessment of the situation there can be no prompt or efficient action. With a high level of responsibility, we must monitor the mood to see how our working people and citizens view our situation. It is noticeable that today they are very sensitive and concerned about the destiny of Yugoslavia, about the development of socialist self-management and the brotherhood and unity of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia even more than about economic difficulties and hard living conditions. But it is, above all, encouraging to see that the majority of our working class is convinced that economic difficulties are, after all, transitory, that the stability of the country and its basic production relations are the essential element and prerequisite that enables us to overcome the crisis on a long-term basis. In other words, workers demand that all the problems should be resolved within the framework of the system and not outside it.

Question: To what extent do economic and other kinds of difficulties, mistakes, and failures burden the political and security situation?

Answer: We must be realistic when we talk about the political and security situation. As a society we are indeed going through a difficult and complex phase. The difficulties are encountered mainly in the economic field. We have a high inflation rate. The country's indebtedness is substantial. A fall in real incomes and living standards has been continuing for 3 or 4 years. There are more and more people whose basic existence is threatened. On the other hand, a million people are unemployed, most frequently the young and qualified. Social differences based on work are on the

increase. We are experiencing strong tendencies of isolationism and internal divisions at nearly all levels of internal development. If we add to this the phenomena of stagnation in the development of self-management, failure to achieve the constitutional status of workers, defensive elements on the ideological front, and weaknesses in the work of the LC then, on the basis of all this, we can conclude to a great extent this affects the political and security situation and requires us to be more active, responsible, organized, vigilant, and aware of the present situation.

I would, therefore, stress that the security of the country and its position and stability depend primarily on how we are going to implement the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session. This is not a new assessment, but it has to be repeated for the benefit of our relationship as a whole toward current problems in our development.

More Aggressive Activity of Internal Enemy, Fascist Emigration, and Intelligence Services

Question: It has been noted lately on several ocasions that the activity of hostile forces is on the increase. What are these forces and how do they act?

Answer: I would say that in such a situation all anti-Yugoslav, antisocialist, anti-self-managing, and anticommunist elements find opportunities for acting and carrying out some sort of offensive. Above all, we are witnessing the escalation of nationalism. It has become very aggressive. It manifests itself openly in a large number of situations and issues. It can be found in economy and culture; it is trying to find its way into journalism, the information media, and it is already present at sport venues. Unfortunately it is increasingly frequent among youth, regardless of age, in schools, even in textbooks. It is to a greater or lesser extent found in all parts of the country. Irredentism in Kosovo is the most extreme form of nationalism and represents a special problem.

On the other hand, the strongest resistance to nationalism is provided by the working class. It is the great value of our system and one of the reasons that we are winning the battle against nationalism. However, we must not be deluded in the political sense, because nationalists and clericonationalists have recently been attacking more and more those among us who are most opposed to nationalism -- the working class and youth on the whole.

The reactionary element of the clergy of all three of the largest religions try to engage the church and religion in politics. Religious press, sermons, religious gatherings, and special forms of organizing believers, etc. are sometimes misused to this end. Our Constitution guarantees freedom of religious belief, but we will not and cannot allow sections of the clergy to influence the awareness of believers from positions of nationalism, antisocialism, and anti-Yugoslavism.

And What About the Bourgeois Right?

The so-called bourgeois right has lately been carrying out a more open and aggressive subversive campaign. It has initiated attempts to unite and organize various opposition forces and individuals. It tries to penetrate, to a greater or lesser extent, the press and the papers and to secure a position in literature, sociology, and philosophy clubs, and so forth. Aggressive groupings and individuals even try to revise historic facts to suit their own needs, to constantly write and address petitions, form close platforms, home universities, round tables, and various committees that allegedly protect artistic, creative, and other freedoms which, as they persistently repeat, together with their fellow sympathizers abroad, are threatened in our country.

Certain internal opposition groups and individuals have already formed, or wishes to form, a team with certain forces abroad. These people demand, either openly or secretly, assistance from some of the foreign institutions or individuals, even from fascist emigres. Their common aim is to destabilize Yugoslavia and to influence the changes in its socialist and self-managing orientation.

Bureaucratic and dogmatic forces are no less ambitious. Their basic intention is to blame self-management for all our difficulties and offer a centralistic way of organization and management, full power of state-party apparatus, and such things.

It is characteristic of all internal enemy groupings to attempt to get a footing of whatever kind among the intelligentsia, youth, and other segments of our society. Their aim is to cause distrust in the political system and the LC and in our ability to surmount present difficulties.

Prevention of Subversive-Propagandist and Saboteur-Terrorist Actions Against Our Country

Question: A short while ago there was a trial of a group which in tandem with fascist emigres prepared saboteur actions in our country. Is this emigre body going to take up this criminal activity once again?

Answer: The hostile emigre body never stopped preparing and carrying out subversive-propagandist and saboteur-terrorist actions against our country. Its attempts to transfer its activities into our country are not new either. It is a phenomenon which has been present for 40 years. The fascist emigration from our country is one of the most extreme ones. It is capable of committing the worst crimes. These relics and followers of fascism, which was defeated 40 years ago, are dispersed all over the world and they are acting against our country due to the tolerance and support of certain reactionary forces abroad.

Our system of social self-protection has been and is successfully preventing the criminal intentions of the fascist emigration. Every year hundreds of kilograms of explosives, a large number of detonators, and other devices used for subversive-terrorist purposes are confiscated from terrorists.

We must continue to be vigilant because the hostile emigration does not keep still and it tries by various means to harm our country.

Question: You recently said that during the past 2 years our security organs unmasked over 50 agents of foreign intelligence services. Does this mean that our country is exposed to a stronger pressure on this side?

Answer: All our knowledge confirms that we are exposed to a constant and even more intensified activity by foreign intelligence services. They have become more aggressive in their attempts to influence our internal development and international prestige.

Intelligence services also take advantage of the lack of vigilance of individuals in a number of our organizations of associated labor, in the field of administration, culture, information science, and other aspects, to obtain secret information needed to achieve their propagandist aims.

Tito's Views on Offensiveness Still Very Relevant

Question: In your opinion, what should be done in conditions of such an intensified activity of hostile forces in the country and abroad?

Answer: Ever since the beginning of the national liberation war Tito maintained that the offensive spirit must reign in our People's Army, not only during offensives but also during defensives. This view of Tito's is still very relevant today. This is also the message of the 16th LCY Central Committee session. What does being offensive mean today? In our present situation it means fighting resolutely for the realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and our basic orientations, for the ideopolitical unity of the LC, and all the organized socialist forces.

It also taught us that whenever the situation is difficult the LC and the socio-political organizations ought to open themselves up more, talk to people, workers, and youth about the problems and jointly seek and find solutions. Our security services also have to carry out offensives. In fact, offensive must be answered by offensive.

We are an Open and Safe Country

Question: You have spoken mainly about safeguarding the constitutional system. How would you, Comrade Culafic, assess the public security situation?

Answer: We can be satisfied with the situation as regards public peace and order. This applies only to property and personal safety of our citizens and the security of our borders. For 3 years now we have registered a modest fall in the number of traffic accidents and in the number of people killed in them, although the toll continues to be high. We can be satisfied less with the state of the protection of social property against illicit acquisition and against fire and natural accidents. We have had several serious cases here and we must work more resolutely, steadfastly, and in a more organized way to protect social property. Our services here have a significant role to play.

As far as the assessment of the state of public safety is concerned it is important how the people feel, whether they are afraid to go out into the street after dusk has fallen, whether there are acts of terrorism or other forms of violence. There are not many countries in the world who can boast that in this respect their situation is as favorable as it is in our country.

The stable security situation is also testified to by the fact that we rank among the most open countries in the world. One can enter Yugoslavia through 188 border passes and do so on the basis of a tourist permit which is issued on presentation of an identity document; visas with 56 countries have been abolished either fully or partially.

Question: In a police magazine we read the rank list of the efficiency of the security services in the world. On that list our country is very highly placed. Is that really so?

Answer: It is difficult to make comparisons of this kind because police organizations operate in various sociopolitical systems and conditions. If our security organs are efficient that is primarily the result of the operations of our social self-protection system. In the past they scored most success thanks to the help given by the citizens, and this is the case today as well.

Apart from that, we can truly be satisfied with some indicators of efficiency. The percentage of the most serious criminal actions that have been solved, for instance murders, is in the area of 95-99 percent, which is an indication of our very high level of efficiency.

Constant Adaptation to Social Needs and Possibilities

Question: At the meeting of scholars in Skopje at the end of last year, devoted to Tito's version of social self-protection, you stressed the importance of applying science in this area. Could you please tell us something more about it.

Answer: The opportunities for involving science in this field are considerable. As you know it has been used for some considerable time and very successfully, too, in monitoring and solving criminal acts. However, one feels the need for research and a theoretical compilation of experience within the context of the present functioning of social self-protection and providing new substance and forms of this work. We attach special importance to the research of those socioeconomic, political, psychological, social, and other factors which present themselves as the determinants of the security situation in society. Finally, the possibilities for applying pure forms of science such as chemistry, biology, physics, information science, and others in the practical clarification of the problems confronted daily by the security organs such as preventive work, identifying perpetrators of criminal acts, securing of material proofs, etc., are extensive. Unfortunately, we must note that in recent years the expected involvement of science in the security area has not materialized. There is a lack of initiative both of those involved in practical work and by scientific workers. We see a prospect for more extensive application of science also in the increasingly high number of scientific workers who opt to work in the security organs.

Question: According to our Constitution the federation, the republics, and the provinces are responsible for protecting our constitutional system, while public security business is virtually exclusively in the jurisdiction of the republics and provinces. How is the unity of all security organs being implemented in the light of the principle of the indivisibility of the security of the country?

Answer: The important thing for the functional unity of the internal affairs organs in a country with a federal system is that they should have a unified program orientation and that they should all consistently carry out federal regulations which ensure the unified operations. Our assessment is that the functional unity of the internal affairs organs in our country is being implemented satisfactorily and that this unity will become even more complete when the unified information system has been established and also through other forms of its modernization. Joint assessment of the situation and the programming of the measures and activities concerning all the issues of joint interest is also a part of that unity.

It Is Mainly Young People Who Are Working on Most Cases and Tasks

Question: The squadron of the internal affairs organs during the parade held in connection with the day of victory over fascism left the impression of a service equipped and trained in a modern way. What are the differences in relation to the situation, say, 10 years ago?

Answer: Within the framework of the financial possibilities of our social community, noted results have been observed over the past few years in the cadre and technical training of the internal affairs organs. To a certain extent this was shown by our squadron during that parade.

Special efforts were put into raising the level of expertise of our cadres because this is a condition both for rational and efficient use of modern technology. To give an example, during the past 10 years the number of highly skilled cadres in internal affairs organs has trebled, while the percentage of the cadres with lower level qualifications has been considerably reduced.

Within the framework of the modernization of our service up-to-date technical equipment has been acquired, ranging from crime research laboratories to modern electronic and other installations for automatic data processing, modern communication and weapons systems, and other equipment. Great attention has been paid to training and equipping special militia units which today are capable of resolving even the most complex security tasks. It is mostly young people who work today on the highest number of cases and tasks in the internal affairs organs. Over 65 percent of our cadres and people are aged 35 years and under, and only 0.5 percent are over 55 years.

Question: In conclusion what sort of security service is required for our society in the present conditions?

Answer: We need a morally and politically strong, revolutionary, expertly trained, and technically modern security service in which good and courageous people, communists, and cadres will work who are aware that their basic task is to frustrate, together with other social subjects, the violation of our constitutional system and to secure peaceful and creative work for our citizens.

At the same time I should like to reiterate Tito's well-known thought that a successful struggle against the enemy can be ensured only by the people organized in various social self-protection areas. In this way we conducted and won the struggle against fascism, carried out a revolution, and successfully defended its achievements and other social values against all enemy attacks over the past 40 years. This will happen in the future as well, said Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary of internal affairs, at the end of his conversation with POLITIKA and TANJUG editors.